

BEHIND THE SOVIET SWEEP

by COLONEL T.

NEW MASSES

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OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM?

Thomas Mann, Rep. Samuel Dickstein, Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Chief Justice James H. Wolfe of Utah, Roscoe Dunjee, Henry Epstein, Prof. James M. O'Gorman, John T. McManus, Albert Halper—discuss pros and cons of this question.

WHAT BRITAIN EXPECTS FROM US

by R. PALME DUTT

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: *Bulgaria Starts Anew*, by Victor Sharenkoff; *FDR's Sense of Our History*, by F. J. Meyers; *The Dual Churchill*, by the Editors; *The Army Goes to School*, by Arlen Marsh; *Guerrilla Songs of Greece*, by A. L. Lloyd.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

LAST week one of our military experts (who could be almost any member of the staff) laid a copy of the New York *Times* on the desk and pointed to a passage in the column of Hanson W. Baldwin which read as follows: "... It may well be that the Russians hope before the spring thaws to capture Warsaw. . . ." "The spring, the spring," sneered our attention-caller. "You call that military analysis? What the readers of the paper want to know is what year?" . . . While on the subject of the latest Soviet drives, we would like to call your attention to the latest worry of the reactionary *Jewish Daily Forward* editors. One of our readers reports that while the news of the successes in Poland was coming in, it asked, in effect, "Where is Chernyakovsky? The news is silent about the Jewish General of the Red Army." It's a shame that the news wasn't silent long enough to give the boys an opportunity to work up an issue on anti-Semitism and the Soviet Union. But they never give up, as their too-long history will attest. Even as Chernyakovsky's breakthrough in East Prussia becomes a part of the general crushing offensive, these dealers in fantasia are busy thinking up a new one. Nothing is too weird for the process they call publishing a newspaper. . . . Foreign editor John Stuart reported this one and he swears it's true. A woman was buying some chopped meat the other day when she discovered she didn't have enough points. Said the butcher, "I would like to help you—especially since you are Russian—but you know how it is. . . ." A man standing at the counter turned to the woman. "You are Russian?" When the woman nodded, he pushed his stamp book toward her. "Please, have all my points. I am Polish."

BECAUSE of an early press deadline, we are unable to give you the full details of our Awards Dinner, held last Monday evening at the Commodore, but a meager outline follows: Howard Fast received the award for the novel, as did Quentin Reynolds for war reportage, Norman Corwin for radio, Lillian Hellman for drama, Daniel Fitzpatrick of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and Bill Gropper for the cartoon, Max Weber for fine art, Frederic March and Lena Horne for film and stage acting, John Howard Lawson and Lamar Trotti for screen writing, Carl Van Doren for historical biography, and Stephen Vincent Benet (posthumously) for poetry. His award was accepted by Mrs. Stephen Vincent Benet. Several organizations were likewise granted awards for their outstanding programs of education and cultural work both among their members and in the community. These included the United Auto Workers-CIO, the Inter-

national Fur and Leather Workers Union-CIO, the National Maritime Union-CIO, the International Workers Order, and the Harlem (135th St.) Branch of the New York Public Library. Of course there were other individuals and groups that were worthy of recognition, but it was obviously impossible to include them all. Robert Rossen, the Hollywood writer, was master of ceremonies, and editor Joseph North and playwright Edward Chodorov were leading speakers on the program. Next week we hope to give you a more rounded picture of the event.

THE relation of the liberal to the war and his reaction to the issues of the day are of great interest to all categories of people, as evidenced by the response to A. B. Magil's two-part *Letter to a Liberal*. Scores of letters from our readers praise Magil's pieces for having cleared the air on the subject. We print part of one such

letter, from a New York businessman, that is more or less typical:

"TO NEW MASSES: I want to compliment you on Magil's articles on the liberal. To me it is a most concise expression on this most important of subjects. In line with Roosevelt's point on perfectionism, I think these pieces should be put into pamphlet form and sent to every Senator and Congressman, as well as to every liberal and progressive organization.

"The copies containing these articles are going to my son over in England—a member of the 8th AAF.

"Should you decide to work on my suggestion, I would take a quantity off your hands and distribute them. . . . Others would do the same, I'm sure. That way, it would entail no extra financial burden."

Contrary to the general custom of inventing names for the sake of proving a point, all the references in these articles are to actual people. Mary G., to whom the letters are addressed, is a real person whose question was directly responsible for the discussion.

J. F.

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TRADE AND TRIBULATIONS

By R. PALME DUTT

London (by wireless).

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT's message to Congress placed in just perspective the present controversies on Allied policy and the sharp polemics which have found expression in some sections of the British and American press. As that message has emphasized, the offensive against the Teheran three-power agreement has been directed to drive a wedge not only between the western powers and the Soviet Union, but equally between Britain and the United States. It is this latter offensive which has been especially prominent in recent weeks.

Not so long ago the theme of Anglo-American unity and even of an exclusive Anglo-American alliance to confer on the rest of the world the blessings of Anglo-Saxon peace and order was a favorite one in certain reactionary quarters in Britain and the United States. Now the tables are turned. It is precisely these reactionary spokesmen on both sides of the ocean who are most unrestrained in their language and who in their offensive against Teheran and their egotistical world outlook are endangering Anglo-American cooperation. And it is the progressives who are the most active fighters for Anglo-American understanding and practical cooperation. The truth is demonstrated that only a progressive policy based on Teheran can ensure this cooperation.

The real problem is not the press polemics; nor can it be solved by soothing syrup in the press. Neither polemics nor declarations of good intentions can be a substitute for a positive policy. Anglo-American cooperation, which is real today on the battlefield, which exists in the common struggle against Germany and Japan, can only be carried forward equally in all spheres in the settlement and beyond victory if there are definite common purposes and a common program to provide the basis of cooperation. Such common purposes and a common program are provided by the Teheran agreement and by the subsequent initial steps which have been taken

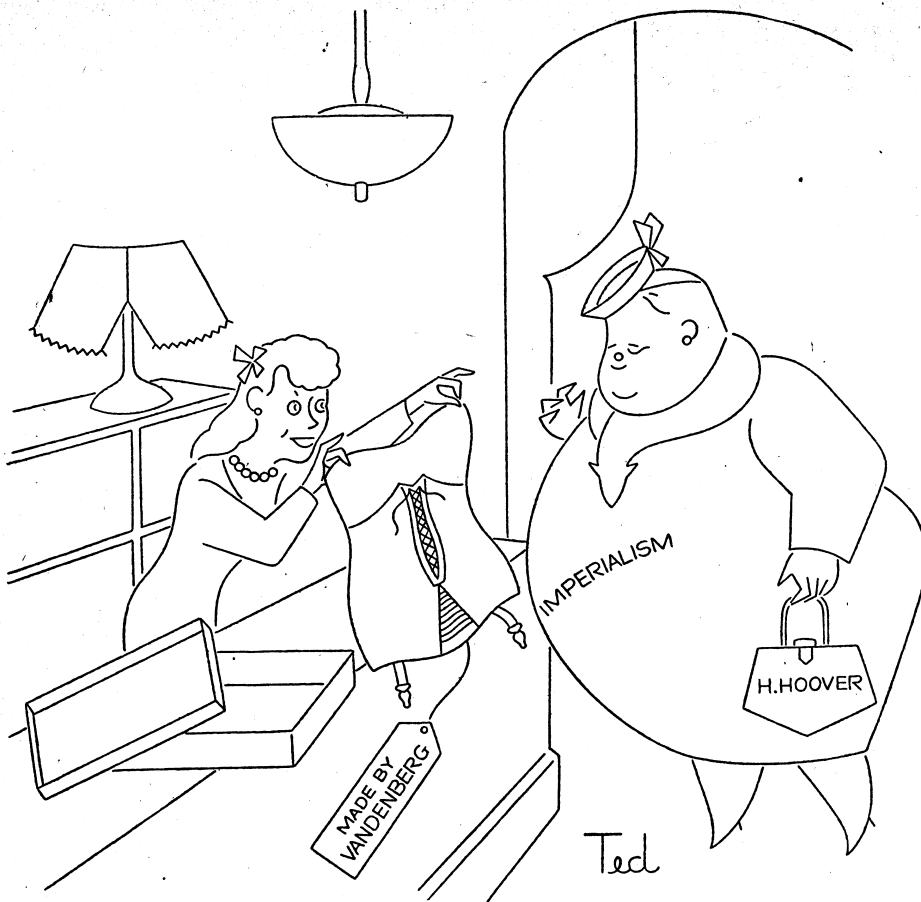
to carry forward this agreement in definite terms and which will be further developed in the coming meeting of the three heads of states.

While political problems in day-to-day Allied policy in Europe (Italy, Belgium, Greece, Poland) have been most prominent in the current controversy, they are undoubtedly only symptoms of the main problems underlying Anglo-American difficulties. The common policy laid down by the Moscow and Teheran agreements in relation to the European countries is a consistent democratic policy for the complete military, moral and political annihilation of fascism. It prepares the way for the establishment of the world family of democratic nations. On this line of policy alone, reflecting the equal interests of all peoples, there can be a common ground.

Wherever this policy is abandoned divergences arise. It cannot be denied that such divergences have arisen in particular cases. The tendencies which previously showed themselves in Darlanism or in the prolonged support of Mikhailovich have more recently appeared anew in the disarmament of the Belgian Liberation Movement, the military intervention in Greece, or the agitation which has been conducted in support of those Poles basing themselves on the fascist constitution of 1935. It is the responsibility of all supporters of Teheran to correct any such wrong tendencies in policy. Such corrections can be carried through within the common aims of the United Nations. The examples of Yugoslavia and of France have shown this. But neither British nor American official policy has so faultless a record on these issues as to be able to cast stones at the other. These are not issues between Britain and the United States. They are issues between progressive and reactionary policy, in which the victory for a progressive policy will be won by the support and exertions of all forward-looking people in both countries.

The prominence given to these current political problems in the recent Anglo-American press controversy is rather a reflection of the deeper underlying problems of Anglo-American relations, which are essentially economic problems. In this field there can be no question of the seriousness of the problems which have been brought to the fore in the recent period. While the first half of 1944 saw the successful compromise embodied in the Bretton Woods plan and the draft oil agreement the later period has seen deadlock on vital issues at the civil aviation conference, the withdrawal of the oil agreement in face of Senate opposition, the strenuous bargaining over the terms of continuance of lend-lease in relation to exports expansion, the aggressive claims and counterclaims at the Rye businessmen's conference and the increasing expressions of rivalry on both sides over post-war markets.

It is evident that if this drive to full-scale Anglo-American economic conflict and a cut-throat fight for markets were to dominate the postwar world such antagonisms could wreck the aims of international political cooperation. Hence it is of vital importance for forward-looking opinion in Britain and the United States to be prepared with a concrete program and proposals to meet this situation. In this connection President Roosevelt's budget message is recognized on all sides to be of wide significance. With its firm stand against economic isolationism it has pointed the way forward for policies of international economic cooperation through the immediate establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, as proposed by the Bretton Woods plan, and the preparation of large-scale international investment. Despite persistent sniping at the Bretton Woods plan in certain financial and political circles in Britain and in the United States, and the somewhat hesitant and apologetic



"This will make you look just like Clare Boothe Luce."

defense by such British government spokesmen as Sir John Anderson, British official policy does in fact support a similar line.

The alternatives are clear. Both Britain and the United States, though on the basis of widely differing economic situations, will inevitably be striving to achieve a very great expansion of exports in the immediate postwar situation. The United States, with its gigantic productive power which could not find scope even before the war and which has now been enormously increased through the requirements of the war, will have to find an outlet for that expanded productive power as soon as war production ceases to provide the market, or be faced with a degree of economic crisis exceeding anything known in the pre-war years. Britain, with a deficit in its balance of payments which had already become chronic in the pre-war years, with a weakened international economic situation as a result of the war but also with an expanded industrial capacity (even though not comparable in extent of rate of increase to that of the United States) has officially set the goal to increase its exports by fifty percent—actually five times the present restricted wartime volume—as the minimum necessary to maintain its position and

avoid bankruptcy on its existing economic basis.

Under pre-Teheran conditions the outcome of such a situation would be easily predictable. American aggressive big business would set itself to use its overwhelming superior strength to drive every competitor off the map while maintaining high tariffs to exclude imports. And it would be amazed to discover in the outcome that it had destroyed its markets and landed in a headlong crash. The British industrialists, conscious of their competitive weakness and incapable of facing the basic reorganization of British industry which is today imperative, would seek to maintain their position by every device of colonial monopoly, imperial preference, sterling blocs and similar mechanisms of restriction to conceal the real decline. The net outcome would be world economic crisis, disorganization and paralysis on a scale exceeding anything experienced before the war.

This outcome is not today inevitable. It is visibly contrary to the interests of the peoples. It is also not even in the interests of the powerful capitalist forces which still dominate Britain and America. For the first time the political conditions exist—with the new relations of world forces, the strength of the Soviet

Union and the cooperation of the socialist and capitalist worlds, with the rise of the new liberation governments in Europe and the growth of the national forces in Asia—for a world policy consciously directed towards international economic cooperation. The world has need of all the goods British and American industry can pour out. There is enormous destruction as a result of the war. There is the heaviest underproduction and underdevelopment, lack of resources and equipment over the greater part of the world and a crying need for rapid schemes of development which can only be put through with the aid of the technically advanced countries. Thus there is scope for far-reaching international plans backed by large-scale international investment, and organized either through agreements between the governments of particular countries or through the machinery of the International Bank directed towards raising the technical level, productive power, and standard of living of the countries whose development has hitherto been retarded.

Fulfillment of such plans would undoubtedly raise many problems and require many factors the conditions for which are only beginning to be present. It would require far-reaching governmental agreements in the economic sphere and machinery of control. It would require international organization in relation to staple commodities and possible agreements in relation to markets. It would require basic changes in tariff policy, and it would require the ending of all systems of colonial monopoly and a radical change in the position of the colonial peoples so that their representatives could freely participate in the framing and execution of the development programs.

Nor can we underestimate the strength of the antagonistic forces which will oppose any such policy and which are already driving forward along the path of suicidal conflict. Nevertheless, such a positive policy in the international economic sphere is the imperative requirement of the present transitional situation as the economic counterpart of Teheran. It is the line of policy towards which united progressive endeavor, especially in the United States and Britain, needs to be directed. And it is the only line of policy which can help to diminish the present dangerous Anglo-American economic antagonism and ensure the basis for stable and lasting Anglo-American cooperation in the critical years which will follow victory over fascism.

SHOULD WE OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM?

A SYMPOSIUM

Of all forms of racial discrimination, anti-Semitism has been particularly used by the Nazis as a weapon in waging their barbarous war against Gentile as well as Jew—against the whole of mankind. The agents and dupes of Nazism within the United Nations are likewise using Jew-baiting propaganda to divide, confuse and weaken the fight against fascism. For this reason the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, ninety percent of whose sponsors are non-Jews, and the recent conventions of the CIO and the New Jersey Federation of Labor have urged legislation to outlaw organized anti-Semitic activity. To help clarify this problem NEW MASSES has invited a number of prominent Americans to participate in a symposium on the question.

In this and subsequent issues we are publishing their views. We asked the participants to reply to the following questions:

1. Do you favor federal and state legislation to outlaw organized anti-Semitism as part of the fight against the evil? Please state the reasons for your position.

2. Should newspapers and periodicals with second-class mailing privileges be exempted from liability under such legislation?

3. Do you think such legislation would violate freedom of speech?

4. Do you feel such legislation would benefit other minority groups, as well as the American people as a whole?

5. Do you believe that the United States, as a leading member of the United Nations, should take the initiative in securing action against anti-Semitism by the United Nations?

James M. O'Gorman

Chairman, Department of Psychology and Philosophy, Hunter College, New York

IN ANSWER to the first question, unqualified yes.

2. While I believe it would be a good idea to include newspapers and

periodicals with second class mailing privileges in this bill, I believe they should be exempted at this time. Being a bit of a pragmatist I believe "half a loaf is better than none."

3. Certainly not.

4. I believe such legislation would be of benefit to all minority groups such as Catholics and Negroes, as well as Semites.

5. I believe this action against anti-Semitism should be started in this country.

Thomas Mann

Novelist

I DECIDEDLY favor federal and state legislation to outlaw organized anti-Semitism and also individual Jew-baiting. My reason for this is simply that I see in the anti-Semitic propaganda one of the most dangerous weapons for the undermining of democracy and a malicious mass-demagogical instrument.

The question whether such legislation would violate freedom of speech cannot shake me in my conviction. We will all have to think in less liberalistic terms

about the conception of freedom than before. Our experiences teach us that freedom must defend itself better against its sworn enemies than it hitherto believed compatible with its principles. Freedom is no goddess who must put up with everything from everybody. And then, freedom of speech does not mean utter and complete licentiousness. It is, after all, not permitted to voice blasphemies and coarse obscenities in public either.

Legislation like the one proposed in your symposium should, in my opinion, form part of the Bill of Human Rights which has been suggested repeatedly, a Magna Charta of the rights of the individual and the minorities which, let us hope, all civilized peoples will recognize after this war.

Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

Professor, Harvard Law School

I THINK federal and state legislation on this matter [organized anti-Semitism] is likely to have unexpected and undesirable consequences. In particular, I am much opposed to giving the Postmaster General power to deny mailing privileges because he thinks that there is religious or racial discrimination. Such legislation would necessarily go far beyond anti-Semitism. It would permit the government to stifle frank expressions of opinion about the activities of religious groups of various sorts. The exercise of such an administrative power would depend largely on the personal views of the official himself. Furthermore, even where anti-Semitism is the basis of a



"Like a ship, fascism leaves its own inevitable wake."

prosecution or a mail order, the action might easily prove a boomerang. The fact that Jews had invoked such a law might simply increase resentment against them.

I am bitterly opposed to any violence against Jews or anybody else by hoodlums, but we do not need new laws to stop this in the United States. There is plenty of law already for this purpose. The problem is to be sure that the police can and will enforce such law. I object too to exhibitions of intolerant opinion but the cure for this probably lies in education and the spread of wisdom rather than in law. The whole history of sedition legislation shows that laws affecting opinion hit things which were never thought of at the time of enactment.

Rep. Samuel Dickstein

New York

FIRST, the reason I favor federal and state legislation to outlaw organized anti-Semitism is my firm belief that it is imperative for the future health and security of our great nation to have the state and federal governments put the correct label on this anti-social and destructive activity, namely, that of a criminal offense against the well-being of our country and all its inhabitants.

2. Newspapers and periodicals with second-class mailing privileges should definitely not be exempt from liability under such legislation. To exempt them would amount to making our government an accomplice in carrying out this nefarious job of spreading race hatred and intolerance. (By the way, during the last few Congresses I have introduced legislation to declare nonmailable all papers, magazines, and writings of any kind designed or intended to cause racial or religious hatred, bigotry or intolerance.)

3. I do not see how such legislation would interfere with freedom of speech as the groups which it would reach are the very groups that are desperately trying to destroy freedom of speech as well as all other freedoms guaranteed to us by our Constitution. Freedom of speech is not a license to character assassination and vilification of certain segments of our population because of their race or religion.

4. I do not consider anti-Semitism a Jewish problem only. As has been proved in history time and again, it has been used by bigots as the first step towards suppression and oppression of

other minority groups—religious and political. It is always the first step—but never the last—taken by people who are anxious and determined to crush all liberal and enlightened thought and activities in their respective countries. Legislation outlawing anti-Semitism would therefore be a protective measure for the best interests of all other minority groups as well as the American people as a whole.

5. Having an important stake in the justice and durability of the coming peace, the United States must take the initiative in securing action against all dark forces responsible for the present worldwide blood bath. As organized anti-Semitism was one of the first and most outstanding symptoms of the horrible disease of fascism, I cannot see how we can escape our responsibility to secure proper action against it.

Justice James H. Wolfe

Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Utah

I FULLY recognize the great harm that a well organized insistent group bent on spreading anti-Semitism may accomplish in a democracy. I also recognize the distinction between an organization constituted to spread or combat an idea or belief as distinguished from one organized to generate bitterness and hate against persons because of the accident of race, color, origin, nationality or sex.

The first is more an essential part of the freedom of speech; that is, the freedom to propagate or combat a belief (even though institutionalized), a philosophy or a policy. The other is directed toward discriminating against persons who are unfortunate enough to have been born in a reviled class. With all this in mind, however, I greatly fear legislative measures designed to outlaw organized anti-Semitism. In the first place, they would be very hard to enforce because the organization would usually operate under some other guise.

Secondly, some definition would have to be given of "organized." How much cohesion must there be between members of a group before it is considered to be "organized"? It would be very unlikely that its expressed object would be anti-Semitism.

Thirdly, it would encourage a tendency on the part of majorities to attempt to outlaw, by legislation, organizations established to combat groups whose ideas or beliefs did not

accord with theirs. This most certainly would infringe on the right of free speech. I am still inclined to the belief that the best way to combat organized anti-Semitism is to counter-organize for the purpose of nullifying the effect of anti-Semitic propaganda, rather than to resort to legislation.

Roscoe Dunjee

Editor, "Black Dispatch," Negro Weekly

I NOT only favor a law to outlaw anti-Semitism, but I favor a constitutional amendment that would make it a crime to agitate or discriminate against any race. I prepared and was successful in securing a paragraph in the resolutions of the 1944 NAACP convention, which demands such a constitutional amendment.

2. No, newspapers and periodicals should not be exempt from liability under such legislation. In fact, I actually believe the newspapers and publications (not all of them) are the worst offenders when it comes to fomenting race strife. Their sins of omission are as great as their sins of commission.

3. Such legislation would not violate the type and character of speech freedom which I feel is ideal. I would like to see it unlawful to advocate in newspapers such things as lynching, Jim Crowism, segregation and disfranchisement. Many newspapers are guilty of advocating these things. If we have, and believe in, a democracy, it should be a crime to talk against democracy. There's a difference between freedom and license.

4. This type of legislation would benefit every minority group in the United States, and would do more to bring our ideals into practice than any other type of legislation.

5. America is not prepared to assume the moral leadership of the world until she cleans her own house of such unbrotherly patterns as anti-Semitism, religious baiting and statutory attempts to hold black people in the brackets of second-class citizenship. Unless we follow such a program there is danger of our losing pan-American unity. One of the difficulties in securing cooperation below the Rio Grande results from the fact that two-thirds of the people down there belong to dark races—Indian and Negro. These people are not going to be easily euchered into embracing the colossus of the North until America cleanses her hands of snobbishness and race hate.

John T. McManus

President, New York Newspaper Guild

I AM for federal and state legislation outlawing not only organized anti-Semitism but also organized prejudice in any form opposed to the principles of democracy. I am not ready, without a great deal more study, to agree that anti-Semitism is a separable evil from white chauvinism, for example. My present inclination is to think that the question of anti-Negro prejudice is America's No. 1 problem and that if we can solve that, as a nation, the other anti-democratic prejudices cannot long survive.

2. If such legislation were enacted, certainly no newspaper or periodical should be exempt from its restrictions.

3. As to whether such legislation would violate freedom of speech, I think any sensible answer must depend upon a clear statement of what constitutes freedom of speech. It is my conviction that democratic freedom of speech is an instrument for the furthering of democracy, constitutionally guaranteed for that purpose. When freedom of speech is utilized as an instrument *against* democracy, it seems to me quite logical that such misuse of this instrument must be curbed by democracy.

4. As I stated in reply to Question 1, I feel that the outlawing of anti-Negro bias and organized prejudice should be the primary step in the move to end all existing undemocratic discrimination in the USA.

5. Answer: yes.

Albert Halper

Novelist

ANTI-SEMITISM is as old as "civilization." It will last as long as "civilization" lasts. In my opinion, political, labor or literary bodies will never be able to pray or legislate anti-Semitism out of existence.

Back in World War I days we legislated whiskey out of existence—we thought. What happened? We got bootleg whiskey, which killed more people than old-fashioned whiskey ever did. Not that I am endorsing "old-fashioned" anti-Semitism. But you get the point.

Whenever I read or hear about the "good" that is accomplished when priests, ministers and rabbis gather solemnly upon a platform, shake hands, kiss each other and outlaw anti-Semitism, I have to laugh. They gather to "outlaw" anti-Semitism every six

months, expenses paid to and from hotels, meals included.

I am not making fun of any one. I am merely stating the facts. I realize, of course, that facts are dynamite. But you asked for it.

Educational and cultural bodies also pass resolutions to "outlaw" anti-Semitism, periodically. Some newspaper publishers, various Congressmen, a dozen columnists and a few spellbinders are mentioned. What happens? Anti-Semitism continues to grow stronger in our country, battling for the American way of life, every week. Again, I am not trying to be sarcastic. I am merely giving the facts.

A very good friend of mine, a Jewish dentist, is in the Navy. He tells me he never knew what anti-Semitism *really* was until he joined the Navy. Another friend of mine, a non-Jew, working as a civilian in Washington for the War Department, drawing posters for morale purposes, writes me he has met enough anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-labor people working in the War Department to populate a city the size of Bayonne, New Jersey.

In my opinion anti-Semitism in this country has not yet hit its stride. Wait until "peace" breaks out. You will be amazed at all the people you thought were "nice" who will start nibbling at it as if it were dainty lettuce, then will start to chew at it like steak. Like good, red, bloody steak.

Being a realistic writer, this role of Cassandra suits me down to the ground,



Eugene Karlin.

you think. No, it doesn't. I'd much rather take on another role.

What's the use kidding ourselves or the public? Anti-Semitism will never be destroyed by sprinkling insecticide on its blossoms, or even by tearing off its leaves. It will not be destroyed by ripping off a few branches, either.

Anti-Semitism can only be destroyed by attacking it at its roots. And if you pull up anti-Semitism by its roots, you'll have to uproot, at the same time, our "civilization," as our professors call it—and plant something healthier in its place.

Henry Epstein

Former Solicitor of New York State

ANTI-SEMITISM is a virulent form of race hatred, utilized to undermine social, political and economic democracy. It should not be segregated from other forms of race hatreds, for example, Jim Crowism. Legislation cannot cure, but can assist in bringing society's condemnation upon the manifestations of racialism which jeopardize our communal life.

Such legislation as is directed to the subject should in the first instance outlaw and penalize the publication, distribution or mailing of any literature, documents or statements in writing, which are defamatory or scurrilous in character, holding up to ridicule or attack any group because of race, religion or national origin, which does not on its face and on the wrapper thereof disclose the person responsible for the authorship, distribution and printing. There should be no exemptions from this ban whatsoever. Such limited legislation would not seem to violate freedom of speech or press. It would undoubtedly benefit an evolving democratic society, which I trust the United States still is.

On the world scene, the picture calls for more definitive action, since Jews have been the scapegoats of a world in chaos. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the United States, as a leading member of the United Nations, should seek to obtain action from the United Nations organization aimed to curb anti-Semitism in the European nations. The pledge to restore in Palestine a Jewish commonwealth should be carried out, thereby furnishing a refuge for those who wish to sink their roots in the historic soil of Israel, and the self-respect that will emanate from the establishment of a free Jewish commonwealth.

FDR'S SENSE OF OUR HISTORY

By F. J. MEYERS

THE fourth inaugural of Franklin D. Roosevelt took place at the climax of the greatest struggle for freedom in which mankind has ever engaged. The twelve years since the dark winter of 1933, when American economy crashed to a standstill, when Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, have been years of hard and bitter struggle; but they have been, despite setbacks and tragedy, years in which progressive humanity gathered its strength, deployed its forces, till it is now shattering the very citadel of evil.

For those twelve years Mr. Roosevelt has been President of the United States. Under his leadership we fought our way out of the depression and established the broadest democracy and the highest economic standards in the modern history of our country. During this time labor organized its ranks in the decisive industries, and for the first time attained that position in the political life of the nation without which we could not have achieved the national unity that has made possible our great contribution to this war. Under his leadership, America rejected the fool's paradise of appeasement, thrust aside the fascist purpose concealed behind it, and formed the epoch-making alliance between capitalist and socialist democratic states which is crushing fascist aggression and laying the basis for a progressive and democratic future.

It is always something of an impertinence to attempt to analyze the role, the motives or the methods of great men, even though long dead. Even more so must it be for a living leader whose work is not yet finished. But, despite that, I think there is a purpose to be served in considering today, as America celebrates FDR's sixty-third birthday, the tremendous contribution which Roosevelt has made to our generation, especially in the revitalization of the democratic American tradition and philosophy as a political guide to the problems of our time.

Individual men, however able they may be, do not of course achieve outstanding historical results by their own strength alone. Only as they grasp and understand the currents of their time and thereby give leadership to the people, do they become great. Granted that overestimation of the individual "hero," the great man, can distort history; but

so also will the opposite mistake of reducing the contribution of leadership to a mere mechanical expression of conflicting forces. I, for one, am tired of hearing some progressives who ought to know better talking about Mr. Roosevelt as if he were the rope in a tug of war.

Certainly he has learned, and continues to learn, from the development of social forces. If he did not, his leadership would be dogmatic and sterile. And among the forces which affect him is the organized expression of the conscious will of the people. This is, however, far different from the implication often met with that his actions are merely the resultants of "pressure." Only a narrow concentration upon the issues of the moment can lead to such a view.

A LITTLE perspective, a little study of the twelve years through which we came since 1933, shows not only the general consistency of his leadership but also the coherent political philosophy upon which it is founded. I do not mean that he has never made mistakes, that he has never misjudged the situation. Nor has his leadership developed without trial and error, without false starts and contradictions. Mr. Roosevelt himself would be the first to admit this. In fact, in the general introduction to his published papers, he says: "In these volumes those who seek inconsistencies will find them. There were inconsistencies of methods, inconsistencies caused by ceaseless efforts to find ways to solve problems for the future as well as for the present. There were inconsistencies born of insufficient knowledge. There were inconsistencies springing from the need of experimentation. But through them all, I trust that there also will be found a consistency and continuity of broad purpose.

"Consistently I have sought to maintain a comprehensive and efficient functioning of the representative form of democratic government in its modern sense. Consistently I have sought through that form of government to help our people to gain a larger social justice."

From the Commonwealth Club speech in 1932 to the inaugural address of 1945, the main stream of that "broad purpose" can be clearly seen. It is founded in a deep understanding of

the historical development of America and a profound devotion to the principles of our great democratic leaders. This understanding and this devotion he has been able to enrich and transform into a live comprehension of the problems of today because he has also a grasp of the elementary law of the science of society—that society changes and grows and that social and political thought must change and grow with it. Speaking at the University of Pennsylvania in September 1940, he gave an excellent, if somewhat philosophically idealist, statement of this law:

"Benjamin Franklin . . . realized . . . that while basic principles of natural science, of morality and of the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily changes with the pattern of living conditions from generation to generation. I am certain that he would insist, were he with us today, that it is the whole duty of the philosopher and the educator to apply the eternal ideals of truth and goodness and justice in terms of the present and not terms of the past. Growth and change are the law of all life. Yesterday's answers are inadequate for today's problems—just as the solutions today will not fill the needs of tomorrow.

"Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning for every new social situation."

Throughout his speeches and his writings, Mr. Roosevelt demonstrates the essence of the American political philosophy he holds. Derived from Jefferson, from Jackson, from Lincoln, it is the concept of a struggle for democracy, for freedom, repeated in new forms in different periods. Explicitly he develops again and again the idea that a vital aspect of this struggle in our time, after the taking up of the free land of the West and the advent of modern industry, is protection for the economic rights of the individual as a responsibility of democratic government. The concept of an Economic Bill of Rights, which he projected in his message to Congress in January 1944, and again in this year's annual message and in the budget message, as the foundation of his domestic policy for the postwar period, was first indicated in 1932 at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, when he said: "Just as in older times the central gov-

ernment was first a haven of refuge, and then a threat, so now in a closer economic system the central and ambitious financial unit is no longer a servant of national desire, but a danger. . . . As I see it, the task of government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order."

The President understands the essential truth that "new conditions impose [ed] new requirements upon government and upon those who conduct [ed] government. As Jefferson wrote a long time ago: 'I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. . . . As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times.'" (Address at University of Pennsylvania, Sept. 20, 1940.)

This is the spirit in which Mr. Roosevelt approaches the solution of the economic problems of our time. And, whatever may be the weakness of the New Deal, its triumph is that it has brought about the greatest advances in our history in the application of democratic principles to these problems. This is also the spirit in which he approaches all social and political problems, stressing that what should be learned from Jefferson is not the form but the content, the essential democratic faith: "[Jefferson] lived, as we live, in the midst of a struggle between rule by the self-chosen individual or the self-appointed few and rule by the franchise and approval of the many. He believed, as we do, that the average opinion of mankind is in the long run superior to the dictates of the self-chosen." (Address at cornerstone laying of the Jefferson Memorial, Nov. 15, 1939.)

And this is a belief not only in the principle of democracy but in its practice, in the participation of the widest sections of the people in political decisions. It is this belief which gave fire to the stirring appeals the President made in the recent election campaign for the broadest possible registration and the highest possible vote. It is this same democratic approach, this hatred of arbitrary and reactionary tyranny, together with his historical-military knowledge of the problems of national security, which have guided the international policy of his administration. A full understanding of the real meaning of the complex forces of international politics

in these dozen years he achieved only through long experience. But, in my opinion, his basic democratic and anti-fascist position, expressed in the famous "Quarantine the Aggressor" speech in 1937 and maturely stated in the joint Declaration of Teheran, was the general rule by which he attempted to guide the policy of our country throughout.

THE criticism that Mr. Roosevelt failed to understand in 1939 the full Munich meaning of Chamberlain's



Hugo Gellert, for the Independent Voters Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Roosevelt.

policy, the motivation and significance of the Soviet-German pact, the anti-Nazi character of the Soviet-Finnish War, is a criticism of his judgment of the forces in the world, above all, of his judgment of the character and role of the Soviet Union at that time. It is not an indictment of his integrity or of the general anti-fascist direction of his international policy. Many progressives who did understand that period and the reactionary character of the early stages of the war—progressives whose record of struggle against fascism from before Hitler's rise to power was endorsed in blood on the battlefields of Spain—themselves failed to see the changing character of the war after the fall of France and before the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Over-all, over the span of years which has seen the monstrous rise of the fascist threat to our national survival, more than any other man it has been Franklin Roosevelt who built the understanding and the unity of our country to meet the danger and destroy it.

Mr. Roosevelt has learned from experience because he applies to that ex-

perience a democratic political philosophy based upon the best in the American tradition. Today he is contributing what he has learned to the solution of the world problems of peace and prosperity, undeterred from his broad purpose by the thousand complexities which arise and will continue to arise from day to day. He has firm faith in the value of America's share in that solution, while as a statesman he realizes that other streams of progressive thought must contribute to it.

This is the essence of the magnificent passage on foreign affairs in his recent message on the State of the Union. Because this message shows the highest development of his thought and at the same time the simplicity with which he talks to the American people, drawing on our experience and tradition, I think there can be no better way of ending these observations than with a brief quotation from it:

" . . . We propose to stand together with the United Nations not for the war alone but for the victory for which the war is fought.

"It is not only a common danger which unites us but a common hope. Ours is an association not of governments but of peoples—and the people's hope is peace. Here, as in England; in England, as in Russia; in Russia, as in China; in France, and through the Continent of Europe, and throughout the world, wherever men love freedom, the hope and purpose of the peoples are for peace—a peace that is durable and secure.

"It will not be easy to create this people's peace. . . . But the continuance and assurance of a living peace must, in the long run, be the work of the people themselves.

"We ourselves, like all peoples who have gone through the difficult processes of liberation and adjustment, know of our own experience how great the difficulties can be. We know that they are not difficulties peculiar to any continent or any nation. Our own Revolutionary War left behind it, in the words of one American historian, 'An eddy of lawlessness and disregard of human life.' There were separatist movements of one kind or another in Vermont, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky and Maine. There were insurrections, open or threatened, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. These difficulties we worked out for ourselves as the peoples of the liberated areas of Europe, faced with complex problems of adjustment, will work out their difficulties for themselves."

BULGARIA STARTS ANEW

By VICTOR SHARENKOFF

SINCE last October, when the armistice was signed, Bulgaria has been moving towards greater cooperation with the democratic powers. What she is achieving internally is also of momentous importance. The country is in many respects an object lesson of what people can do for themselves once they have thrown off fascist chains and are permitted, without external interference, to work their way back to prosperity and peace.

As in all other Balkan countries, the resistance movement is the center of Bulgarian political life. In Bulgaria the underground partisan forces were organized by the Fatherland Front, which came into existence in the middle of 1942. The Front itself is comprised of the most important anti-fascist organizations: the Peasant Party, the Socialists, the Zveno Group (made up primarily of army officers), the Communist Party, the Democrats, the Radicals and the cooperatives. The armed contingents of the Front number about 250,000 men and women.

When last September the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria, the Front's armed forces entered Sofia and overthrew and arrested the Muraviev government, which was slow to make war on Germany and which adopted a "neutrality" policy in order to let the Wehrmacht escape the country. A new provisional authority was established composed of members of the Fatherland Front, with Kimon Georgiev as premier.

Georgiev was a colonel in the Bulgarian army and a former representative in parliament. In 1934 he and Damyan Velchev, the present minister of war, along with the newly-formed Zveno group, staged a *coup d'etat* in order to save the country from the Macedonian terrorists operating under the aegis of Italian fascism and encouraged by King Boris. Georgiev became premier, and while many harsh things can be said about his government's internal program, it did attempt to carry through an intelligent foreign policy.

The Macedonian terrorists were suppressed and their leader Mikhailov fled to Turkey and thence to Italy. Cordial relations were renewed with

Yugoslavia and relations with the Soviet Union were established.

Georgiev's government under Zveno auspices lasted for about eight months. Then King Boris took matters into his own hands, and in 1935 set up a dictatorship on the pretext of restoring the constitution. The Military League, which supported the Zveno group, was dissolved. Later the Zveno group attempted to overthrow the dynasty, which they considered the chief source of evil, and establish a republic. The king put down the rebellion and Velchev, one of its leaders, was sentenced to death, a sentence which was later commuted to life imprisonment. After the Nazi armies entered Bulgaria, Georgiev, among the foremost leaders of the anti-fascist opposition, was sent to a concentration camp.

To the present Zveno group participating in the Fatherland Front belong also Dimo Kazasov, minister of propaganda, a former Social-Democrat and a consistent advocate of friendship with Yugoslavia; Petko Stainov, foreign minister, and Petko Stoyanov, finance minister. The Socialists are represented by the secretary of the party, Dimitri Neikov. He holds the portfolio of commerce and labor. Another Socialist in the government is Grigor Chesmedjiev. He is a lawyer and well known as a poet and novelist. Both Neikov and Chesmedjiev were active for many years in the movement for a people's front in Bulgaria. While a considerable section of the Socialist Party during 1936-1940 opposed their activity, today the great majority of the Socialists are supporting them and the policy of the Fatherland Front.

The Communist (Workers) Party has four representatives in the government, the most prominent of whom are Anton Yugov, minister of interior, and Mincho Neichev, minister of justice. These two have the special responsibility of trying and punishing all traitors and collaborators. They have also been outstanding leaders among the partisans.

The Peasant Party has four posts held by Nikola Petkov, minister without portfolio; Assen Pavlov, minister of agriculture; Angel Derzhanski, minister of railways, and Boris Bumbarov, minister of public works. All of them have made their mark in the partisan movement.

Thus these four parties make up a genuine coalition government, representing the majority of Bulgarians. Of course the New York *Times* correspondent, Joseph M. Levy, is not quite pleased with it and has been writing the same sort of fantastic nonsense as that other *Times* correspondent in Greece, A. C. Sedgwick. Levy deplores the fact that the Communists are so well represented in the new Bulgarian government. According to him, the Communists represent no more than two percent of the population; as a matter of fact, they are the second strongest political group after the Peasant Party. Both these parties speak for at least ninety percent of the population, and yet it is the Communists who insist that a broad coalition government rule Bulgaria and that the Fatherland Front be made even stronger than it is. Judging from Sofia newspapers, genuine harmony exists among the four parties of the Front and the whole country is backing the government.

When the new government came to power, it dismissed the pro-Nazi council of regents, and one of its first acts was to declare war on Germany. For four months now the Bulgarian army has been in the field fighting alongside both the Red Army and Tito's Army of Liberation. It helped in the liberation of Macedonia and Serbia, and in the words of its general staff "will continue operations against the enemy until his final defeat."

THE constitutional rights of Bulgarians are being restored. The anti-Jewish laws have been revoked and the equality of the Jews with the rest of the population proclaimed. Several Jews now occupy high government posts. The assistant minister of propaganda is a prominent Jewish lawyer, and the director of commerce in the commerce ministry is also a Jew.

Under the Georgiev government. Bulgaria is undergoing a much-needed internal reorganization. The Church has been declared separate from the state, civil marriage has been instituted and women given equal rights. Important measures have been introduced in land ownership. Land is being distributed among landless peasants and agricultural

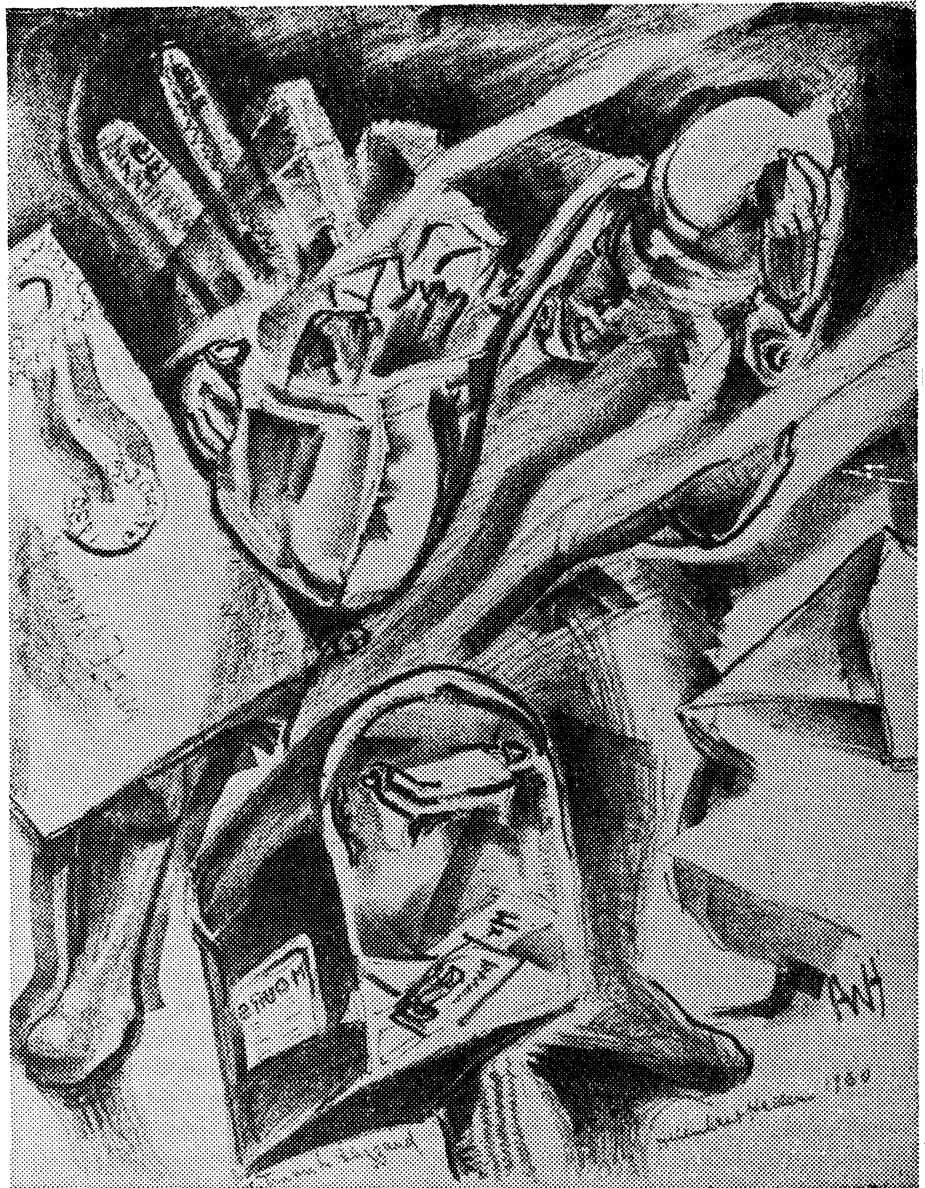
workers. In northern and eastern Bulgaria surveyors have been examining areas belonging to the state land fund and several thousand parcels of land have already been assigned to almost 6,000 families. The collective working of land is entirely optional; the right of private ownership of individual parcels is guaranteed. The minister of agriculture has also set up a tobacco monopoly, tobacco being one of Bulgaria's most important crops. The aim here is to maintain a legitimate and remunerative return both for the producer and tobacco worker.

A political and cultural regeneration is under way. New newspapers have appeared, along with new literary publications. Libraries, schools and theaters have reopened. The teachers have demanded that the government remove every vestige of fascism from the school system; the minister of education has appointed a committee to revise all textbooks. By decree all libraries have been cleansed of fascist materials. Writers are visiting towns and villages, factories and mines, to read their works and to lecture.

The trade unions, suppressed for so long by the fascist rulers, are now reorganizing. In three months they added 200,000 workers to their ranks—including many in professional categories. Early in February a national conference of labor and professional unions will be held to prepare the way for the organization of all Bulgarian workers into one general trade union federation. The unions have drawn up a special program of demands covering wage scales, protective measures, cultural interests, as well as a desire for cooperatives. Bulgarian labor leaders have already requested a place at the forthcoming world trade union conference in London.

On its part, the trade union movement has pledged complete support to the government. Workers are now striving to increase production and in many factories production figures have gone up, the increase in some textile plants being from thirty-five percent to seventy percent. In a number of railroad shops work which ordinarily took three days to complete has now been finished in five hours. Many workers are giving up their free days in order to increase output. Large sums have been contributed by various unions to assist the families of soldiers.

Naturally the fascist parliament was dismissed, and all representatives who supported a pro-Nazi policy have been arrested. The fascist youth organizations



"The Postman in a Blizzard," lithograph by Helen West Heller.

have been disbanded. People's Courts have been established to try the war criminals. These trials are now under way, and are presided over by well known jurists who have the confidence of the Bulgarians.

It goes without saying that the Bulgarian people feel an immense gratitude to the Red Army for its aid in liberating the country. Bulgarians and Russians have always been united in strong bonds of affection—an affection expressed last September by a high Bulgarian church dignitary, the Metropolitan Stephan of Sofia. Addressing the Russians he said: "Through your people all Balkan countries have been saved selflessly and disinterestedly from many centuries of serfdom and have been led to a road of free life."

There is a great desire in the country to fulfill the terms of the armistice

agreement presented by the Allies and accepted by the Georgiev government last October. Even before the armistice was signed the Fatherland Front knew that the terms would be severe in view of the injury the United Nations suffered as a result of the Bulgarian fascists' alliance with Hitler. Yet Premier Georgiev has said that "anybody who studies the terms of the armistice without prejudice cannot fail to be struck by the moderation and sobriety which the Allies strove to display toward the new Bulgaria." And if I were asked to describe the spirit that dominates the new Bulgaria I would quote from an editorial that appeared in the newspaper *Narodna Voiska*. "We are fighting," it said, "for the liberty and happiness of our country. The first of these aims has already been attained; the enemy is now

(Continued on page 22)

THE ARMY GOES TO SCHOOL

By **ARLEN MARSH**

THANKS to the world's most far-flung school system—the United States Armed Forces Institute—thousands of America's fighting men and women will return home after this war with their official academic status definitely improved. As this is written, more than 100,000 members of the armed forces are studying the correspondence courses offered by the Institute; and it is estimated that another 100,000 are studying in "self-taught" group classes and in their own barracks and tents. When the war ends, an untold number will see their collegiate standing shoot upward when they complete special educational placement tests provided by the Institute.

During World War I millions of men were torn from their jobs and their schools, their careers temporarily halted or permanently blasted. Students well on their way to diplomas or degrees came to see those diplomas or degrees only through the haze of their own day-dreams. To help in solving the problem, some American universities granted "blanket credit" at the close of the war to those who had served in the armed forces.

Blanket credit, however, proved to be more trouble than it was worth to both colleges and men. Universities subscribing to the plan—and most did subscribe to it—simply laid down the fiat that so much academic credit would be granted for so much military service, regardless of the student's actual educational achievements. Men whose backgrounds actually entitled them to freshman standing became juniors overnight—and found themselves unable to keep up with the faster pace of third-year college courses. Men whose backgrounds actually entitled them to senior standing became juniors also, and dawdled along for an unnecessary year while the blanket credit system tried to catch up with them.

World War II will present no such difficulties. Not quite three weeks after Pearl Harbor, the War Department authorized the establishment of a correspondence school to be called the Army Institute. By April 1942, the Institute was well under way. And in September 1942—so successful had been the early work—the Navy, with its several

branches, became a member, and the Army Institute became the Armed Forces Institute, operating under policies prescribed by the Army Education Branch, Morale Services Division, Army Service Forces.

Two schemes of correspondence study were provided. In early 1942 the Institute contracted with the University of Wisconsin to provide instructional service in sixty-four technical and high school subjects, materials for which were supplied by the Institute; the list of these courses is being expanded and eventually will reach more than 300. Further, eighty-two of the leading universities in the country were tapped for some 700 additional courses, until the available curriculum ranged from applied art to calculus and from heating engineering to modern Greek.

Under the first of these two plans, the enlisted man pays an initial enrollment fee of two dollars to the Institute. Courses and texts are thereupon provided without further charge, in such numbers as he may—with the permission of his commanding officer—choose. The Institute grants no academic credit of itself, but will on request supply the high school or college of the student's choice with a complete transcript of achievement; the school then determines what credit may be given.

The second plan usually costs the enlisted man more, but allows him to register with whichever one of the eighty-two universities on the approved list he wishes. The government will pay half the cost of tuition and textbooks, up to twenty dollars, of each course the student selects. Since correspondence study rarely costs more than five dollars per semester hour of credit, and since most courses have a value of no more than one to three semester hours, the student is able to continue work on his education—often with his alma mater—without overtaxing his monthly paychecks.

Officers, too, may enroll for courses through the Institute; but officers in the Army pay the actual cost of the correspondence courses they study. The Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard, however, do not differentiate between commissioned and enlisted personnel.

Of the more than 100,000 enrolled through the Institute in correspon-

dence study in March 1944, more than half were overseas. Branches have been established in Egypt, in Hawaii, in England, in Alaska, and in Australia, to speed and simplify the handling and grading of papers. Other branches are now being planned. Men (only one percent of the students are women) report studying in camp libraries in the United States, by candlelight "down under," and on barracks bunks in England. Some of them are graduate university students with Ph.D.'s and Litt.D.'s, but others have had no more than fourth-grade education. On the average they spend about seven hours a week in off-duty study.

In some respects, correspondence study has advantages over the traditional classroom method. University correspondence instructors give each student individual attention; his problems are discussed, his difficulties remedied, his strong points encouraged. There are no lecture courses with two hundred students each, no courses in which the student is merely a name and number in a register. Instead, Armed Forces Institute students are personalities who have almost the services of private tutors. Still more important, every student must think for himself; values of a correspondence course depend solely upon personal initiative.

But experience taught the Institute staff that correspondence work alone was not enough. Men who settled down for months at a time on isolated atolls in the South Pacific or who fought the bitter campaigns on Kiska and Attu had difficulty carrying on correspondence work; mails often were irregular, and available cargo space was always overcrowded.

So there was brought into being a new type of self-teaching textbook and lesson material. Expert editorial men combined their gifts with those of experienced textbook publishers and leading authors; together, they constructed a series of texts which practically takes the student by the hand and leads him through all the mazes of whatever course he chooses. Each book is made as practical as possible; it is filled with problems and other applications; it is liberally illustrated. With many of the texts goes a workbook and self-administering tests, complete with answers.

HELP WANTED!



Whopps!

Using these new-type texts as their guide, men are studying singly and in class groups all over the world. The Institute branches, like the headquarters at Madison, Wisconsin, are being equipped to ship promptly all the self-teaching materials and a huge variety of other texts as well. Among the self-teaching courses, the short "quickies" in foreign languages, using phonograph records made by native speakers, have been especially popular. Often, and in odd parts of the globe, courses have been taught in classes headed by volunteer instructors who themselves were learning as they went along.

To promote the class instruction plan, the Army has recruited some of the most experienced educators in the country, has given them special training in military methods, and has sent them to Service Command headquarters in the United States and to various theaters and bases abroad. A number of these specialists, known as education officers, were in uniform as early as the fall of 1942, advising commanding officers and Special Service officers in regard to technical professional problems and the organizing of off-duty educational programs. When the war is over, the Army believes, there will be a tremendous upsurge in the demand for textbooks and classes among occupation forces; education officers and the organization they are developing will provide an immediate answer.

Through March 1943, approximately thirty-six of the self-teaching textbooks had been published. These ran the academic gamut from military correspondence and military orders to auto mechanics and English grammar. About thirty-five other texts on diverse subjects are being planned. With these additions to the curriculum, a soldier may secure a fairly well-rounded education through self-teaching materials alone.

No American university will grant a full degree for correspondence work alone. Some permit one-fourth of the total credit for a degree to be taken by correspondence; some permit one-half of the total credit to be earned by correspondence and extension classes; others—like the University of Chicago, the State College of Washington, and the University of California—allow three years of a four-year course to be taken by correspondence or other extension work. It is unlikely, therefore, that high school graduates will find themselves suddenly possessed of B.A.'s and B.Ph.'s when they emerge from the war.

But special arrangements have been worked out with nearly all the regional accrediting associations and with numerous individual colleges so that all the soldier's education—whether secured through Institute courses or through any other means—may be fully accredited to him. Both the Institute and the country's schools detest the thought of a return to the inconsistencies of the blanket credit system of World War I. Both feel, also, that one of the strongest incentives for a student to continue his education while in the armed services is the promise of objectively determined academic credit for his achievements.

So on April 6, 1942, a special committee of the American Council on Education recommended to the Army and Navy that "success in the . . . Institute correspondence courses be appraised in terms of skills, aptitudes, and knowledge achieved by the students; that the . . . Institute provide opportunity for soldiers, not registered in courses but who have had comparable training experience, to take the appraisal tests and to receive proficiency ratings if they achieve a satisfactory standing in such tests; and that carefully constructed appraisal tests be used to determine the educational significance of skills acquired through various types of war experience." Concurrence with this recommendation came almost at once from the Director of the Morale Services Division, Army Service Forces, of the War Department, and the wheels were set in motion to provide the necessary aptitude tests. For some time, specialists at the University of Chicago have been producing the new testing materials under contract with the Armed Forces Institute.

ALMOST simultaneously with its recommendation to the government forces, the American Council on Education conferred with representatives of regional accrediting associations in regard to the possibility of proposing to members of the associations the adoption of the Institute aptitude tests as a means for measuring credit to be allowed returning soldiers. Fairly typical of the reaction to this conference was the official pronouncement of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, representing both high schools and colleges in the northwestern states:

"For the guidance of member institutions in the admission and classification of students returning from the armed forces, the Northwest Association re-

commends the following policies: (1) That credit not to exceed eight semester hours be granted upon presentation of evidence of the completion of the basic training course, ordinarily included in the first thirteen weeks of service in the armed forces. . . . (2) That, instead of granting lump or blanket credit, a student's classification in college or university be based upon demonstrated intellectual maturity and achievement as evaluable by examinations covering his or her educational experiences and instruction in the armed forces."

Because of such recommendations as this, more than 11,000,000 men and women in the armed forces will have the privilege of having their educational background, as it has come to them during the war, tested by the Institute. Technical and officers' courses, NCO courses, and special language courses—all in addition to basic training and regular military practice—may be exactly rated, and the student placed in the academic niche in which he properly belongs.

A battery of tests is now being developed to uncover the soldier-student's general educational competence; other tests will supplement this battery by disclosing the student's specialized knowledge. "Raw scores" from the tests, together with suggestions based upon national norms, will be submitted by the Institute to the school of the student's choice, and the scores evaluated by the school itself to determine whether the student becomes a freshman or a senior.

Newest of the Institute programs—and one of the most popular—is the educational film service. Known as "GI" movies, films are provided that are balanced forty-five-minute programs, including sports and song shorts, travelogs, and special subjects. More than a million men see GI movies every week. Distribution is to 2,500-odd units within the continental United States and through all circuits of the Army Overseas Motion Picture Service.

Prime purpose behind all this is not only the education of better soldiers and sailors, of better Marines and Coast Guardsmen, but the educating of better citizens for civilian life after the war. The Institute is a valuable morale-builder. Students taken from high schools and colleges feel more satisfied when they discover that Army life does not necessarily mean a serious disruption of their academic plans, and that simultaneously they can prepare themselves for positions of leadership both before and after the peace.

UNGAGGING LABOR IN TEXAS

By LOUIS F. BYRD

ON SEPTEMBER 23, 1943, R. J. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers and vice-president of the CIO, addressed a meeting in Bay Town, Texas, of Local 1002 of the Oil Workers Industrial Union. The OWIU was engaged in an important organizational drive among the workers of the Humble Oil & Refining Company, since the National Labor Relations Board had ordered an election in the plant to determine the union representative for the workers. Thomas delivered a vigorous and militant speech to his audience of 300 on the merits of the OWIU. In the course of his speech, he took occasion to call out, by name, to a non-union man in the audience, to sign up with the union.

It is unlikely that the 300 persons listening to Thomas realized that he was deliberately setting the stage for a decision on January 8, 1945 by the United States Supreme Court. Six hours before his speech, Thomas had been served with a court order not to speak before the union audience. The reason for the order was that Thomas had failed to comply with a Texas statute requiring union "solicitors" to obtain a "registration" card from the Texas secretary of state. Thomas was fully aware that his speech and his "solicitation" of a non-union member to join the union would be in contempt of the court order. Texas justice did not prove lax, and as soon as Thomas left the meeting hall he and two other speakers were taken into custody. This arrest started the litigation finally settled in favor of Thomas by the Supreme Court.

Thomas, asserting that the Texas statute violated his constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech, fought the case through all the Texas courts. It was obvious that this was an ideal fact situation with which labor could begin its legal battle against the wartime rise of legislation in Texas, Florida, and other southern states as well as in Wisconsin, Colorado and Kansas, restricting the rights of labor. These statutes involved submission of union lists, registration of union officials and the establishment of high standards to be met by union officials, limitations on union dues and initiation fees, public union financial accountings, and increased union responsibility for the acts of its members.

Although these various devices appear solicitous of the welfare of union members, it can be appreciated why Thomas went down to Texas to prepare a test case for the courts when these devices are considered in the context of efforts by reactionary state governments to obtain control over and to suppress an effective labor movement.

Before the Supreme Court of the United States the struggle of unions against restrictive state legislation was cast in terms of freedom of speech. As far back as 1940 the court had held in *Thornhill v. Alabama* that peaceful picketing was a form of speech entitled to constitutional protection, under the First Amendment, from any type of restriction or regulation. It took little imagination to seek to apply the principle of *Thornhill v. Alabama* to union organizing. But, on the other hand, many similar economic activities are subjected to state regulation although such activity entails some sort of speech. Lawyers, doctors, insurance salesmen, and real estate dealers all speak as much as or more than union organizers. Yet states generally regulate or restrict those professions in the public interest, and registration of the members of those professions is not considered a violation of the First Amendment. Technically, therefore, the court had to distinguish,

for the purposes of the First Amendment, between a union organizer and an insurance salesman. This distinction was found to exist by five members of the court, and the Texas statute was declared unconstitutional.

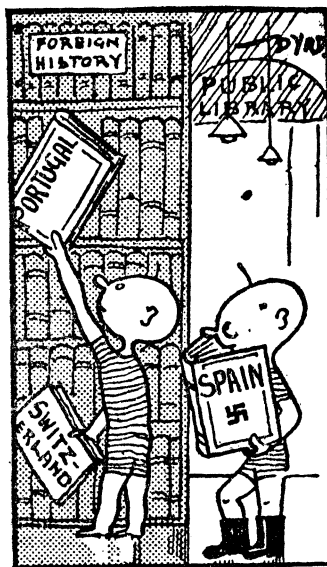
Justice Rutledge, writing the opinion for the majority of the court, argued primarily from the constitutional safeguards for the freedom of assembly and speech. These safeguards were deemed to extend to union meetings as well as to purely political assemblages since the First Amendment "extends to more than abstract discussion, unrelated to action. The First Amendment is a charter for government, not for an institution of learning. 'Free trade in ideas' means free trade in the opportunity to persuade to action, not merely to describe facts."

It followed, therefore, that, "If the exercise of the rights of free speech and free assembly cannot be made a crime, we do not think this can be accomplished by the device of requiring previous registration as a condition for exercising them and making such a condition the foundation for restraining in advance their exercise and for imposing a penalty for violating such a restraining order. . . ."

Justice Roberts dissented from the decision of the Court. He insisted that "other paid organizers, whether for business or for charity, could be required to identify themselves. There is no reason why labor organizers should not do likewise." In this dissent he was joined by Justice Felix Frankfurter, Chief Justice Stone and Justice Reed. The majority opinion distinguished between a labor organizer and an insurance salesman by emphasizing that this labor union meeting was devoted primarily to speaking about the desirability of union organization as distinct from the mere solicitation for funds. Rutledge indicated, therefore, that a statute which required the registration only of those who collected funds for the union might be upheld.

The court's emphasis upon the constitutional privilege to speak on the desirability of union organization made it necessary, in turn, for the court to explain why, as a result of the National Labor Relations Act, employers are not permitted under certain conditions to speak against unions and union organi-

War Babies



London Daily Worker

"Let's see, what side were the neutrals on in the last war?"

zation. Justice Jackson wrote a separate opinion, concurring with Rutledge, in which he frankly observed, "But I must admit that in overriding the findings of the Texas court we are applying to Thomas a rule the benefit of which in all its breadth and vigor this court denies to employers in National Labor Relations Board cases." Rutledge, and a special opinion written on this point by Justice Douglas for himself and Justices Black and Murphy, attempted to demonstrate that employers do have the freedom to speak against unions, except to the extent that such speech amounts to coercion and keeps workers from organizing freely.

It is obvious that Thomas and the CIO were extremely acute in bringing this Texas statute into the courts. The decision of the Supreme Court is highly significant and progressive in that it extends the protection of the First Amendment to union organizers. It is unfortunate, however, that legal dialectics drove the court, in the course of defending a union organizer's freedom of speech, to remark that employers possess the constitutional right to engage in anti-union activities. It is even more unfortunate that the court defined the limits of the constitutional guarantee in terms of the coercive effect of the speech. For it could be argued that the

speech of an employee, if it is effective, is as "coercive" as the speech of an employer. But it is immaterial that no sound legal or logical distinction really exists between the constitutional rights of an employer and an employee to speak about unions. It is material only that the court is earnestly engaged in molding a valuable judicial fiction from the malleable raw material of the First Amendment in order to support the policy of affording necessary protections to labor unions. The Supreme Court has properly recognized that the growth of labor unions, a new and highly desirable democratic institution, deserves special solicitude on its part.

READERS' FORUM

GI's in the Philippines

TO NEW MASSES: I read an interesting article in the November 17 *Yank* in which General Romulo hopes that the American soldier will not antagonize the Filipino by considering him an inferior. Many people accuse Americans, and our own GI's, of being braggards, but I haven't found this to be true. The GI has a keen sense of values and is sensitive to changing situations. In the Philippines I have seen nothing but extreme sympathy for the Filipino, and an increased hatred for the Japanese. Americans abroad are one of the most democratic forces in the world. People in foreign countries set very high standards for our soldiers (the movies are largely responsible) and although the GI realizes that he is like any other human being, he will attempt to submerge his shortcomings, with the net result that he becomes diplomat *par excellence*, a human being extraordinaire, and a liberator (just as he is advertised in the leaflets). GI's have clothed, fed, aided, comforted the Filipinos till they are our brothers and they entwine their fingers to indicate how close they feel to us. At all other times their fingers are spread apart in the "V" sign that follows us up and down the road. The GI's have never considered these people or any people inferior to themselves. Even the Southern soldiers in New Guinea treated the natives with utmost respect. One boy questioned our group: "You white, we brown—no like?" There was an immediate chorus of denial. The soldiers maintained: "What difference does the color make?" We all call the women "beautiful lady." They laugh back shyly. "I am not beautiful, I have

flat nose, I am ugly." (This is the influence of movies.) "What difference does the nose make?" Our soldiers have scored another point toward better relationships.

No cases of maltreatment have been reported and our boys treat the girls with great discretion (in fact they are over-discreet and the Filipino girl who wants to flirt finds the American boy very hard to make).

About two weeks ago we picked up an old man, dead, bayoneted by the Japanese, and his three grandchildren who had met death in a similar fashion. Such things are a daily occurrence. Americans have strict rules about fighting and such atrocities incite them to greater effort, greater hatred and bring them to a closer feeling of brotherhood and comradeship with guerrilla and civilian alike. The war on these islands will be made easier because the people are with us.

I would like to speak about the children of this island. There are no war orphans here—not in the strict sense. When the children who have escaped the Japanese come out of the hills they wander into friendly homes in the liberated villages.

I want to tell you about one such boy. I called him One. His name was really Juan. He had a fourteen-year-old friend with him, who was also named John. To differentiate I called one John and one Juan ("One," as it sounds in Spanish). My boy One was ten years old. He had been a boy scout like his friend John. His father had died fighting the Japanese as a guerrilla. The Filipinos are very polite and always address us as "Sir." So One said the first time I saw him, "Sir,

can I go along?" At that time I was temporarily attached to a mortar company hauling ammunition up to the front. It was also my job to fire said weapon. I told him I was going up to the front. He asked if he could bring his friend along. "But I'm going up to the front," I insisted. "Sir—" he said, looking up at me—and I melted away. We rode the ammunition truck. One decided to be "my boy" and John became attached to a friend of mine on the truck. A Japanese plane came over and we had to "dive" for it. When I returned I asked him if he wanted to go along. "Sir?" he asked, and we went on our way. They put on our steel helmets and web belts. Now they were soldiers too. They fingered our weapons jealously. No, I insisted, that's one thing you don't get. We spent a very miserable night sleeping on a side of a hill with the rain slashing down and the mud making the ground a pretty poor bed. One said he and John would sleep with the guerrillas who were up there with us at the time. I'll never forget that morning when I rose, too miserable to live, and there One stood with a broad smile. "You're so dry!" I exclaimed. "I slept in house," he said, pointing to an abandoned hut. "But the Japanese are just in the woods there!" He patted his bolo knife to indicate he thought he had sufficient protection.

About this time we were expecting to invade another island. I told One that we would have to leave this island. "Can I go?" "What will your mother say?" "As long as I come back—" he answered. But the invasion was called off anyway. On our way back we were just circling our vehicles when a bomb whistled. I ran as far as I could and dropped. It went off on the side of a hill. I remembered One sitting on that pile of ammunition. I looked over and couldn't find him. Later he came up to me with a broad smile. "Where were you?" "Out in the fields." He had traveled the farthest and safest distance of anyone in the company. I could tell you much more about One but it will suffice to say that our parting had to take place. I was called back to my company to carry out my original assignment.

HAROLD BAUMSCHLAG.
Leyte, Philippine Islands

NM SPOTLIGHT

The Dual Churchill

MR. CHURCHILL is a stubborn man. He has the stubbornness of the war leader driving on all pistons toward victory. But he is also possessed of the stubbornness of the debater intent on scoring points even if they are won more by an adroit use of rhetoric than of fact. His address in the House of Commons last week is not one of his finest. For the sake of a balanced view we applaud his remarks that henceforward the Allied fronts will be kept in "constant flame until the final climax is reached." We greet his reiteration of the unconditional surrender policy, particularly as it flings a challenge to those men in Great Britain and in this country who would alter it on the pretext that it hardens the Germans to continue the war. The alternative is a peace by negotiation with our enemies, who would salvage enough of their booty and their ideology to come back stronger another day. The Nazis resist not because of our policies but because those policies arise from our way of life, which is so utterly in conflict with theirs that it is either we or they. Such is the finality of the struggle.

Mr. Churchill on Greece was bad, very bad. He was unyielding to the point where you wonder how it is possible for one man to have such qualities of valor and at the same time such traits as lead him to fly in the face of truth. Except for a few others, he stands alone on his island of self-righteousness. He is even indignant against those who deign to tell him the truth. How could the British press from right to left be so unkind in its criticism, he asks. It never occurs to him that he might be wrong, dead wrong, and that the British people have a greater awareness of what is at stake in Greece and how his Mediterranean policy hinders the war and a stable peace. On Italy, Mr. Churchill is like the small boy who, unable to get the candy, says he did not want it anyway. In dealing with that beleaguered peninsula he noted that Britain needs Italy no more than she needs Spain "because we have no business which requires the support of such powers." Well then, if that is the case, how ex-

plain London's opposition to Count Sforza or the half-dozen other incidents in which British hands interfered in strictly Italian internal affairs?

The Prime Minister's attack on the Greek EAM is not a new story. He introduced a few fresh wrinkles which would sound better if they appeared in Joe Miller's collection of jokes. The



Communists in the EAM are, according to him, Trotskyites, and since the EAM is all Communist, then it too is Trotskyite. First they were gangsters from the mountains, now they are the unholy representatives of the Fourth International. The intent is clear. This is one of these absurd attempts to link Soviet policy with that of British torydom. Does Mr. Churchill really believe that genuine Communists approve his course of action because he assures them that they are all right, that he is only fighting the Trotskyites? If the Greek Communists were Trotskyites, we should be among the first to endorse any fumigation project he might undertake against them. Trotskyism is as lethal a virus as fascism. But the Greek Communists are no more Trotskyite than Mr. Churchill is a Communist. And the EAM is no more Communist than the French Maquis, which Mr. Churchill lauded, though the Communists play a part in it.

His defense is so weak that he needs these fantastic little arguments to bolster a position he cannot sustain morally or politically. He cannot sustain it because within the very speech in which he belabors the Communists, he has praise for another Communist, Tito of Yugoslavia, whose word he has learned to honor and respect and whom he therefore supports against the infantile maneuvering of King Peter. We have said before that it is not the Communists as such who bother Mr. Churchill. He has got on with them and he can get on with them. What bothers him is the EAM's determination that Greece shall

be ruled by Greeks representative of all genuinely anti-fascist groups; that it will not tolerate military intervention or the charges that it did nothing for the liberation of the country. On the face of it this latter accusation made by Mr. Churchill is so patently absurd that he cannot quote one member of the former British Military Mission in Greece to prove it, although he is quick with citations from documents and letters to the effect that the Elasitas are murdering and taking hostage "innocent" Greeks. Some day when British censorship is lifted we shall have the full story of how these "innocents" collaborated with the Germans against the EAM and have been engaged since in espionage and terrorism to injure the resistance movement.

If the British government's policy is not changed, and that quickly, Mr. Churchill is inviting civil war and is hurting the grand alliance by his efforts to impose an undemocratic government on Greece. The Greek affair therefore becomes an international responsibility. It is good to see that President Roosevelt has made it clear to Premier Plastiras that he hopes there will be no reprisals now that a truce is on and that "free democratic processes" will prevail in settling outstanding questions. Greece is an international responsibility, with the major work to be done by the United States in reassuring London that this country does not covet Britain's place in the world or seek to freeze her out of world markets. Uncertainty over her economic future, as R. Palme Dutt, writing from London, points out elsewhere in this issue, is the motive for British misconduct in Greece. What is needed urgently is an Allied trade conference as a natural sequel to the Bretton Woods meeting.

Terror and Responsibility

THE death sentence against the two young Palestinian terrorists who assassinated Lord Moyne, British Resident Minister in the Middle East, and his English chauffeur, was a denouement without surprise. The two youths admitted the murders and evidently expected to pay the penalty. They were outlaws not only in the eyes of the

Egyptian court at Cairo and of the British government, but of their own people as well. For responsible Jewish leaders and organizations in Palestine as well as in other countries unreservedly condemned their acts of terrorism.

Yet neither Britain nor the rest of the world can say that with the execution of the murderers, this incident is closed. Theirs was a political crime for which those against whom it was directed bear a heavy share of responsibility. The two youths were members of what has come to be known as the "Stern gang," organized by the late Abraham Stern, a band of fanatical anti-British terrorists in Palestine, who have been described as Jewish fascists by Jews themselves. This poisonous weed has sprung out of the preponderantly democratic Jewish community in Palestine thanks to the autocratic and inhuman policies of the British authorities, particularly as expressed in that vestige of the Chamberlain appeasement era, the White Paper. When Jews and non-Jews—millions of them—demand an end to the White Paper's restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine and the purchase of land by Jews, they are calling for the reversal of a policy that hurts the United Nations and weakens, rather than strengthens, British influence in the Middle East.

One way of making a bad situation worse was the recent action of the new British Resident Minister in the Middle East, Sir Edward Grigg, in warning the Jewish community in Palestine that unless it cleaned out the terrorists in its midst, Jewish aspirations in that country would forfeit the support of the Christian world. To make all Jews responsible for the criminal acts of a few is a concession to Nazi ideology that is totally unworthy of a representative of any of the United Nations. The Jewish community has as a matter of fact taken concrete measures, in collaboration with the authorities, to root out the terrorists. But the British government likewise needs to take measures—and not solely of a police nature. One can insist on this without feeding anti-British propaganda and without failing to appreciate that British policy in Palestine, like that in Greece, is symptomatic of a deeper problem of Anglo-American relations.

Polish Relief

OUT of that violent and crashing symphony in Poland there is one note to which Americans should listen atten-

tively. Not only does it sing out that Warsaw is free but it heralds the beginning of Poland's renaissance. There is a democratic provisional government in command and its army has already won great glory at the side of the Red forces. Of course, the reactionary Poles in London received the news of Warsaw's recapture with utmost foreboding. Not unlike Hanson Baldwin, the military expert of the *New York Times*, they thought it would not happen for months, if ever—judging from their dread of the idea that the Red Army would have to go through Poland to get to

Germany. So the liberators are described by them as "conquerors" and they are pacing back and forth wondering what their next trick must be. They seek comfort in Vatican circles and are trying to launch a so-called interim United Nations council to administer territory wrested from the Germans west of the Curzon line. In other words they are trying to get the United States and Great Britain to intervene against the Provisional Government, since, obviously, the USSR and several other countries will not participate in such an agency. If it were launched, it would mean the most serious wrangling among all the Allies, which is exactly what Arciszewski and his cabinet—not to mention Hitler—would enjoy no end.

It is our belief that the Warsaw government will be recognized by states other than the Soviet Union. In some cases it will take longer than in others. But the need for a stable and prosperous Europe is so compelling, and the Warsaw authority is proving so irrefutably that it can meet this objective, that all the obstacles now seemingly in the way of recognition will be swept aside. In the interim, Poland needs our help. Her people are exhausted and starved. Her new government is only beginning to wrestle with the immense problems of reconstruction. The Soviet Union is sending supplies which she badly needs herself. Recently she shipped 10,000 tons of flour for the relief of Praga's population. We can do no less and must do much more. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has been provided with port and inland facilities by the Soviet government for relief supplies to Poland and Czechoslovakia. However, private relief collected in this country remains locked away in warehouses because Polish officials here representing the London Poles are not eager to have it sent. They plan to use food and clothing as a weapon against a liberated Poland.

The Hour Is Late

NATIONAL service legislation even in the limited form of the May-Bailey bill is neither a "collar around the neck of the people" nor a "work or fight" measure. Both designations presuppose the people's indifference to the war effort and ulterior motives on the part of the Roosevelt administration, which is sponsoring this legislation. The nation is prepared to accept national service legislation no less than the Selective Service

F. D. R.

"I know that it is America's purpose that we shall not fail."

The man on the White House portico stood hatless and coatless under the dark January sky. For the fourth time Franklin D. Roosevelt was taking the oath of office as President of the United States. For the fourth time he was speaking words of dedication to America's cause. But the other times America was not at war. His voice was firm. Through the simple words of the fourth inaugural ran the motifs of his great message to Congress on the state of the Union: the counsel against perfectionism: "We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately—but we still shall strive. We may make mistakes—but they must never be mistakes which result from faintness of heart or abandonment of moral principles." The faith in mankind's progress: despite reverses, "the great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward." The need to work together with other nations: "We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent upon the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men, and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger."

And so, throughout America and in all countries millions listened and gathered strength.

Act, provided it is approached on the same level of national necessity.

Time is of the essence if we are to give adequate support to the final blows against the enemy. The administration, in its anxiety to secure the necessary manpower measures, has overlooked one vital condition for the wholehearted acceptance of such legislation. When the President was informed that CIO President Philip Murray opposed his proposals, he inquired if Mr. Murray had an alternative. The fact is that the CIO president did make a valuable proposal which was not an alternative, but an important supplement to the national service measures. The CIO urged War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes that he call a conference of labor, industry, agriculture and the government to survey the needs of the situation and adopt measures to solve the manpower problem, including any necessary legislation. It is not yet too late to convene such a gathering.

Mr. Murray specified that he would support any legislation such a conference agreed upon. Nevertheless, in his testimony before the House Military Affairs Committee on the May-Bailey bill he opposed compulsory methods. The issue, it seems to us, is not one of compulsion but of the more efficient utilization of all available manpower. It is understandable why the National Association of Manufacturers and certain employers, who are guilty of practices that squander our manpower resources, should oppose national service legislation. But organized labor's opposition would only leave the field clear for the anti-labor forces to write their own kind of manpower bills.

We still hope the administration will react favorably to the conference proposed by the CIO. But whether or not such a conference is held, we agree completely about the necessity of national service legislation that will include the President's provisions for the protection of labor standards.

Wallace and Jones

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT's replacement of Jesse Jones with Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce is a great improvement. We think business will benefit along with the rest of us. Jones is a businessman, but a backward one whose thinking was no longer fresh even in the pre-war era. In the era of such business leaders as Henry Kaiser, Don-

(Continued on page 20)

Washington Notes

SEN. BURTON K. WHEELER (D., Mont.) was cagey when, the morning after his long speech, he was asked what he thought about the recent speech of Sen. Arthur Vandenberg (R., Mich.). He had not read it closely because he had been so busy working on his own speech, he said hoarsely in a voice worn out by his supreme effort to weaken our "unconditional surrender" policy.

He did say, however, that a mutual Republican friend had told him that he, Wheeler, and Vandenberg agreed on many things.

The Senator then went on to echo in part at least the newly espoused sympathy for our allies which Vandenberg displayed in his speech—except that Senator Wheeler limited it in his conversation to the Soviet Union. With some acerbity in his voice he read a dispatch quoting Prime Minister Churchill as saying the "unconditional surrender" policy would not be changed, quoting with apparent relish the news story's explanation that the Churchill statement came within twenty-four hours after Wheeler spoke.

Vandenberg, it will be recalled, urged a five-power alliance to keep Germany and Japan permanently disarmed on condition that every political decision by ourselves and our allies be regarded as temporary and subject to revision by the future world security organization. John Foster Dulles, Governor Dewey's foreign affairs advisor, made a similar proposal last August.

"I suppose you Commie papers will give me hell because of what I said regarding Russia," Wheeler complained. "But I'm all for Russia going on with her experiment." Apparently he alluded to her "experiment" in socialism, not her "experiment" in driving the Nazi hordes back to Berlin.

I asked the Senator if he had taken a pointer from Sen. Claude Pepper's (D., Fla.) advice to the Senate that it learn whether the Nazis had used Wheeler's remarks on the floor for their propaganda broadcasts. "No," he said, "and what the hell difference would it make if they did?"

It may not concern the Senator, but I checked and learned that they had. Radio Berlin at 12:30 PM the following day broadcast in Afrikaans (which means that it was used on other beams, too, and for home consumption) that Senator Wheeler had called on the administration for a clear statement of policy and had said the administration was surrendering Europe to the Reds.

"I am not interested in helping Goebbels," Wheeler had told the Senate. But he succeeded in doing so.

IT is expected that certain administration supporters in the Senate may react to Drew Pearson's broadcast of January 14 in which he revealed that Vandenberg conferred with Dewey, Dulles and the Dewey braintruster, Elliott Bell, before he made his speech, and that Bell had a hand in writing it. Whether they had a hand in timing it to occur just prior to the Big Three meeting Pearson did not say, but it is reminiscent of Dewey's timing of his original sharp attack on Dumbarton Oaks just before the convening of that parley. This was the blast in which he beat his breast for the smaller nations and regretted "domination" by the big ones.

NOTE of cheer: J. B. Matthews is no longer with what the Capitol switchboard still calls the Dies committee. The operator didn't know what I meant when I called and asked for the Hart committee. "The Dies committee," I said, and was connected with the plaintive voice of Robert E. Stripling, who was given a brief deferment by Selective Service to turn over the Dies committee records to the new committee.

"Mr. Matthews has left. There is only the original Dies committee staff here," he said sadly.

VIRGINIA GARDNER.

ald Nelson and Charles E. Wilson, Jones is an anachronism, and he has proved it at various stages of our war effort. All this is aside from the fact that Jones was reported to have been decidedly lukewarm toward FDR's reelection and that his relatives and close political associates were the moving spirits in the anti-Roosevelt, anti-democracy Texas electoral college conspiracy.

As for Mr. Wallace, he is undoubtedly one of the ablest as well as one of the most progressive men in public life. As chairman of the Board of Economic Warfare he proved to be strong where Jones was weak: in cutting through business-as-usual methods and building up the country's economic reserves for maximum effectiveness in the war. So outstanding was the job he did at the BEW that in the pre-Pearl Harbor days a conservative commentator like Walter Lippmann, in urging the establishment of what became the War Production Board, suggested Mr. Wallace as its chairman. There are few men who are as well equipped as he to help shape the policies that can keep our postwar economy functioning at a level to assure high production, 60,000,000 jobs and stable profits.

Out of Thin Air

TRACED down, the issue between the National Labor Relations Board and its New York regional director, Charles T. Douds, proves to be an administrative matter. But a Social-Democratic-Trotskyite clique in New York has attempted to turn it into a Communist issue. Asked to identify the "Communist plotters" whom they accused of trying to oust Douds, the spokesman of the group, Charles Kerrigan, a regional director of the United Auto Workers, admitted: "We are not in a position to name names but feel that an investigation would disclose that the Communists are behind the move." That familiar feeling, which Mr. Kerrigan shares with the worst reactionaries in the country, has led some people to see Communists behind everything progressive. Indications are, however, that the "blame the Communist" trick isn't working here any better than elsewhere.

White Collars

ANOTHER major move to lessen the squeeze in which the salaried white-collar worker has found himself as the cost of living had edged up and up took

Fair Play

TO a great number of Americans, Senator Wheeler's three-hour effort on the floor on Monday, January 15, will seem a deliberate attempt to assure the disruption, the division and therefore the defeat of the grand alliance to which as a nation we are committed. It will come as a move directly calculated to hamstring the immense labor upon which we have already expended over half a million casualties. Whether or not it was so intended, it will seem capable only of leading to the death of countless more American soldiers than would otherwise have to be sacrificed. No one denies the Senator's right to talk in this way. The Senator, on the other hand, cannot deny his own responsibility for the effect of his words, or the right of others to say exactly what they think of this mischievous and consistently wrong-headed man, playing fast and loose with the destiny of the United States and the future of western civilization.

The Senator endeavors to shield himself under a cheap evasion: "To make the implication that any one who disagrees with you is helping the enemy does not represent fair play." If a man's utterances are helping the enemy, then it is not only "fair play" to say so; it is a duty to say so, and a far fairer and more honest act than the sowing of such tortuous confusions and dissensions and doubts as Mr. Wheeler has been assiduously trying to spread. This kind of thing is shameful; it is, in Senator Pepper's words, one of "the unhealthy cancers in this Senate"; and until more Americans are willing to stand up and say flatly what they think of it, that cancer will continue to gnaw at the heart of our military effort and our policy for peace and reconstruction.

Senator Wheeler is adopting one of the oldest and most contemptible devices in the long history of controversy. . . . He is, as he has been from the beginning of the international crisis, a wrecker; that is a contemptible role, and it is the duty of every free citizen who thinks it contemptible to say so, as forcefully as he can. That is fair play. We believe in fair play; and we do not believe in the intellectual dishonesty which tries to hide behind it without being willing to accept ultimate responsibility for the devious positions assumed in its name.—From an editorial in the New York "Herald Tribune," January 17, 1944.

place last week in Washington. Under the auspices of the CIO a conference of nearly 200 delegates met at the Mayflower Hotel to discuss ways and means of improving the economic status of the nation's business and professional workers whom they represented. Though the conference was called through the CIO, it was predominantly not a trade union gathering, and the great bulk of the delegates came from the professional societies in which the majority of America's white-collar workers are organized. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Donald Dushane, past president of the National Education Association, and now head of its Committee for the Defense of Democracy Through Education. Among the fifty-seven participating organizations were the American Medical Association, the National Student Council of the YWCA, the American Association of Junior Colleges, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the American Institute of Consulting Engineers, the American Institute of Mining Engineers, the American Teachers Association, the National Catholic Welfare League, the National Council of Negro Women, the American Association of University Women, the National Lawyers Guild, the American Association of Scientific Workers, the American Society of Civil Engineers, as well as the CIO unions of Federal Workers, the United Office and Professional Workers, the Newspaper Guild, State, County and Municipal Workers, United Radio and Electrical Workers and others.

The conference recognized explicitly that the social and economic problems of white-collar workers cannot be solved independently of what happens to the nation as a whole, and it likewise recognized that the continued neglect of the white-collar worker constitutes a serious impediment to an early victory and the establishment of a durable peace. Its primary achievement, embodied in the excellent general resolution with which the conference concluded, was the clear understanding that all professional and white-collar organizations need to work together on the cultural, social and economic problems that concern them, that the special needs and contributions of one group dovetail and interlock with those of other groups, and that the success of individual professional programs for the war and postwar periods will be realized only through wide cooperation. This understanding and the broad participation by both professional and labor

groups in the conference provide an excellent foundation for carrying further the work outlined at the conference. The permanent committee which was set up for that purpose should contribute materially toward solving the urgent problems of one of the most valuable sections of American society.

Frank Merriwell's Creator

THE ideal image of cheerful, frank and healthy American manhood was effectively abbreviated in the name of

Frank Merriwell (Merrywell), as close to an American folk hero as popular literature has approached in recent generations.

Well over 100,000,000 copies of the hundreds of volumes in which his adventures were told were circulated. To the extent that a literary image reproduces itself in real life the cheerful and open-hearted GI, so much admired in Europe, is a part product of that folk image.

Frank Merriwell's creator, Gilbert Patten, who wrote under the name of

Burt L. Standish, died a few days ago in California, at the age of seventy-eight. In the obituaries published in the press all the gigantesque data of enormous output and circulation was included, but one significant item was left out. Patten really believed in the values of independence and sturdy striving that he made the mainspring of his hero's adventures. He believed in them so much that he supported their manifestation in the trade union movement. At the age of sixty-eight he marched on picket lines to reaffirm these values.



FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

BEHIND THE SOVIET SWEEP

THE announcement that Marshal Konev's troops penetrated German Silesia to a depth of twenty miles made it clear that at some points at least shells from long range Russian guns must be falling on the ice of the Oder. For nowhere in this sector is the Oder further than thirty-five miles from the border. Marshal Konev crossed and outflanked the Warta (Warthe) line, which in relation to the Oder is similar to the Roer in relation to the Rhine. The Warta is now useless, and with it the famous fortified line built in 1937 by the Germans in the so-called "Oder-Warthe arc"—the Schwerin-Kustrin-Stettin triangle. It is useless because Konev at this writing (January 21), is already approaching the Oder, having left the Warta far behind, and Marshal Zhukov has crossed the Warta at Kolo and is advancing along the direct line to Berlin, thus threatening to outflank the Kustrin-Schwerin line from the south. Zhukov has also captured Wloclawec, which means that the stretch of the lower Vistula which the Germans might have used as part of their defenses is also being outflanked.

Thus it would seem that the Germans can now hope to make a stand only on the Oder itself. Of course, it is a well known fact that their defenses there are very powerful and include underground electric railways, multi-storied forts, vanishing cupolas, etc. And incidentally, some of those famous "Washington and London military observers" are stepping

on their own tongues in connection with the Oder defense line: on the one hand they say that the Russians will probably be stopped there, and on the other, they say that the Oder line "cannot compare with the Siegfried Line," thus betraying a desire to show that the Russians will be stopped, but will be stopped by something much weaker than what stopped the Allies in the west.

As a matter of fact, there is every probability that the German defense will stiffen considerably on the Oder line, from Moravska-Ostrava to Glogau and hence along the old Polish border to Kreuz and from there across the lake country to Belgard near the Baltic. Basing themselves on the Oder alone, the Germans would have to permit the Red Army to approach to within thirty-five miles of Berlin; this is why they will have to fight for the Glogau-Belgard position, with its great forward bastions of Posnan, Schneidemuhl and Neustettin.

Meanwhile, Marshal Konev has not only penetrated deeply into Silesia frontally, but, having captured Cracow, he is posing a serious threat to the anchor of the German defense of the Oder from the south. He is less than 100 miles from the gap between the headwaters of the Oder and the Morava. Furthermore, under the triple threat of General Petrov advancing in Slovakia west of the line of the fortresses Koschice, Przeshev and Bardeyev (which have been captured), Marshal Malinovsky advancing north-

ward from captured Lucinec and Marshal Konev advancing toward the headwaters of the Vistula and Oder westward from captured Cracow, the Germans are forced to withdraw to the line of the Morava River, thus uncovering the Oder-Morava Gap.

While Marshals Konev and Zhukov are thus marching toward the Oder, Marshal Rokossovsky is executing a clever enveloping maneuver along the Lower Vistula, parallel to the so-called Polish Corridor. He has outflanked East Prussia from the south, is outflanking it from the southwest and is threatening to cut it off completely, transforming it into a huge area of isolation for a large German army—an area similar to that in Latvia, only three times larger.

While Rokossovsky is sliding along the southwestern border of East Prussia, General Chernyakhovsky has crashed across the Nieman, captured Tilsit, Schlossberg (Pilkallen) and Gumbinnen and is approaching Insterburg. He is only forty miles from the capital of East Prussia, Koenigsberg.

It is noteworthy that the Soviet High Command carefully avoided the mistake made by the Russian high command in 1914 when General Samsonov's Second Army (the approximate equivalent, insofar as strategic location is concerned, of Rokossovsky's Army) crashed into the treacherous Mazurian Lakes in the Ortelsburg - Neidenburg - Tannenberg area while General Rennenkampf's First Army (the approximate equivalent of

Herman Bottcher

WHAT shall we say of Captain Herman Bottcher? We never knew him, we never saw him. But the Bottcher legend has been deep in our hearts ever since we heard of him and his ways in the Spanish war and then out in the Pacific where the legend became richer and seeped into every corner of MacArthur's command. You know the facts by now. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, and he was a sergeant when they gave it to him, for putting the fright of hell into the Japanese in the Buna campaign. You know that he was a major in Spain's International Brigade. And hardest of all, you know that he is now dead—killed by mortar fire as he and his men were prowling behind enemy lines on Leyte. There it is, short but not simple, for Herman Bottcher epitomized in himself that courage, and resourcefulness, that wholeness of heart and mind that mark the fighting anti-fascist. It's a far throw from Madrid to the Philippines but it was a straight line for him. Fascism and fascists were his natural prey. He hated them. He knew what it was all about and he knew how to tell others and how to lead them in this world-wide purge.

It's painful to set all this on paper. All of us have lost a great friend and the Army a distinguished officer. And it was not so long ago that he wrote in a letter to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade what he saw as the great battle ahead. "The hardest battle for us," he said, "will be to win the peace, to overcome discrimination, injustice, poverty, insecurity. We have to build a positive, a dynamic democracy in order to survive." Those lines were like the sight on his rifle. He used them to aim his whole mature life.

Chernyakhovsky's Army) sat back and did little or nothing in eastern East Prussia. Today we see that Chernyakhovsky is extremely active, while Rokossovsky has marched across the frozen Mazurian Lakes to capture Tannenberg. Thirty years and four months after the disaster of Tannenberg the lesson was being remembered and put to good use by the Russians.

The unprecedented Soviet winter offensive is developing on a basic front line of 500 miles, from Memel to Koszice, in Slovakia. The great central "three-marshals" bulge adds another 250 to 300 miles to the front line, which has an over-all length of close to 800 miles—not counting the active front in Hungary which is another 300 miles.

The central bulge has advanced from eighty to 160 miles in nine days and is now 200 miles wide between the Upper Vistula west of Cracow and the Mazurian Lakes. Its center points at Berlin, 200 miles to the west; its right apex points at Danzig, eighty miles to the northwest; its left apex points at Breslau, thirty-five miles to the west. To the north of the bulge East Prussia is being enveloped and crushed frontally. To the south of the bulge Slovakia is being squeezed out.

The strategic concept of this entire operation is truly titanic. Its execution represents the most massive blow ever struck by an army anywhere. The first ten days of the Soviet offensive cost the Germans 100,000 men killed or captured, 10,000 inhabited localities and 22,000 square miles of territory. The entire Eastern Front has collapsed. However, this does not mean that it cannot yet be reconstituted on the Oder, for the Red Army cannot be expected to be able to advance at the rate of twenty miles a day for another week or ten days, especially across the formidable Oder defenses. The Germans still have a lot of fight in them as their persistent attacks in the direction of Budapest show. (Just imagine the entire front in Poland, East Prussia and Slovakia collapsing, but the Germans still pushing hard to relieve the remnants of their garrison in Budapest. A truly amazing spectacle!)

The Soviet blow is of such tremendous proportions that the war can be brought to a quick conclusion. In other words, what is absolutely necessary now is a massive Allied offensive in the West. It is a strange spectacle to see how the blow the Germans gave us in Belgium is being exaggerated by some people.

And it is rather distressing to see that some of our journalistic "molders of opinion" are trying to put across the idea that the time has not yet come to strike in the West, because the Russians supposedly have not yet carried things far enough. Such a molder of opinion, and I mean Hanson W. Baldwin of the *New York Times*, wrote on January 17, *the day Warsaw was liberated*, that "It is too early as yet, however, to draw such conclusive deductions [that the Russian "general offensive" is intended to end the war], and the Russian general staff can scarcely hope for any such immediate consequence, even if Berlin is their eventual objective. It may well be that the Russians hope before the spring thaws to capture Warsaw and sweep across the Polish plains almost to the Oder to put themselves in position in the East, while we do the same in the West, for the mounting—after a pause—of a tremendous coordinated spring offensive."

This is really the pay-off for Mr. Baldwin's long and distinguished career of sitting in an ink-puddle! The Russians captured Warsaw the day Baldwin wrote this. They have swept almost to the Oder. They have "put themselves in position" and are already executing an immense drive, but Baldwin still advocates "putting ourselves in position for a coordinated spring offensive." The time is *now*. Delay now means the death of tens of thousands of American and British soldiers who could be spared if Germany were hit on both temples simultaneously. Just look at the communiques from Moscow: the capture of Gumbinnen, Tannenberg, Kreuzburg is reported. These are *German names* and the places are *not on the Polish plain*, but in *East Prussia and Silesia*.

Bulgaria

(Continued from page 11)

far beyond our borders. But until the enemy is beaten we cannot rest at ease. The children of the present SS men are already dreaming of a new war in 1965. We are fighting in order that this shall not be. We are fighting to eliminate every vestige of fascism in our country. We are fighting in order that we may occupy a fitting place in the ranks of the freedom-loving nations."

Dr. Sharenkoff is the secretary of the Bulgarian-American Victory Congress and president of the Federation of Bulgarian Educational Clubs in the United States.



WHAT LENIN LIKED TO READ

By M. ZHIVOV

Moscow (by cable).

“LENIN had very little time at any period in his life to engage in the detailed study of the arts,” wrote Anatoly Luncharsky in his memoirs. Lenin himself modestly professed “incompetency” in the field. However, from a study of Lenin’s statements on the subject of literature scattered through his works on philosophy and economics, in his journalistic work and in his letters to relatives and friends—above all to Maxim Gorky—we discover that he had a consistent view of the development of literature and of the tasks of writers.

Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin’s wife, notes in her memoirs that Lenin loved the classics. In exile, he kept the poets Pushkin, Lermontov and Nekrassov alongside Hegel and “read them in the evenings again and again.” His Siberian album contained photographs of Chernyshevsky, Herzen, Pisarev and Emil Zola. Other literary friends accompanying him in his Siberian exile were Goethe’s *Faust* and a volume of Heine’s verses. In a letter to his sisters from Siberia, Lenin asked for a complete edition of Turgenev’s works. In Paris he avidly read Victor Hugo’s *Poems on the Revolution*. And on sleepless nights he read Verhaeren. In Galicia, where it was almost impossible to obtain any Russian books, Lenin learned almost all the works of the poets Nekrassov and Nadson by heart and he read Anna Karenina dozens of times. Chekhov was a favorite since his boyhood and to the very end of his life Lenin followed Maxim Gorky’s work.

The books Krupskaya read to Lenin at his request during the last months of his life included Gorky’s *My University Days*, Pushkin, the dramatists Griboyedov, Lermontov and Nekrassov, the critics Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, Dobroliubov and Pisarev, the novelists Gogol, Turgenev, Goncharov, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Tolstoy, Chekhov and Gorky, and among foreign writers Goethe, Zola, Beranger, Heine, Sinclair, Jack London, Shaw, Wells and Barbusse. This is only a sampling of an interest that took in the masters of world literature. Lenin de-

manded of a book a high standard in its conception of art, which to him meant a profound grasp of reality and a reflection of the highest ideals of the period. His views are most clearly expressed in his article on Leo Tolstoy, whom he regarded as “the artist of genius who produced an incomparable picture of Russian life.” Lenin rejected Tolstoy’s philosophy and did not ignore his weaknesses, but he admired in Tolstoy’s work his strength of feeling, conviction, sincerity and fearlessness; his effort to “get to the roots.” It was Lenin’s dream, which Soviet publishing has amply realized, to “make his works available to all.”

Visiting Lenin one day, Gorky noticed a copy of *War and Peace* lying on the table. This led to a talk about the great writer. “What a giant he is!” said Lenin. “Who is there in Europe to compare with him?” And he answered his own question: “Nobody.” Lenin was proud of Russian literature and art be-

cause the work of progressive Russian writers contained great examples of service to the people. The works and activities of Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and other brilliant revolutionary writers of the seventies gave worldwide significance to Russian literature.

IN *Party Organization and Party Literature*, written in 1905, Lenin said that in the writer’s work it was necessary to ensure “opportunities for personal initiative and individual inclinations and room for thought and fantasy.” In the same article he wrote: “We are far from having a desire to preach any sort of uniform system or solution to the problems by rules and regulations. No, there must be no schematic talk in this field.”

Lenin demanded that the writer be active. A true artist cannot stand aside from life. He must participate, and this participation must first and foremost be through the author’s written works. By reflecting reality his works become a means by which life is made known. It was this form of activity that Lenin valued so highly in Gorky. As early as 1909, he wrote that Gorky’s talent had been of great benefit to the working class movements in Russia and abroad. Through all their years of friendship Lenin placed Gorky’s activities as a writer on a higher level than any of his many other activities. When Lunacharsky informed Lenin of his plan to invite Gorky to edit the literary section of the newspaper *Proletary*, Lenin answered: “If a man is engaged in a bit of serious work and his work would be harmed by his leaving it for smaller things—for newspapers, for journalism—it would be foolish and criminal to interfere with him and detract him from his work.” At another time Lenin said: “With his literary works, Gorky has linked himself with the working class movement of Russia and the whole world.”

Lenin’s estimate of Gorky’s *Mother* is particularly interesting. Speaking of his first meeting with Lenin, in London, in 1907, Gorky wrote: “This bald-

The New York Board of Education plans to distribute free to Junior High School pupils, who are at the age when the collection of a personal library begins, attractive, well-illustrated classics. The titles already announced include books by Mark Twain, Stevenson and Dickens and substantial anthologies of favorites running from Shakespeare to O. Henry. Students in the industrial high schools will collaborate on the designs of the books and the children receiving them will be encouraged to make their own permanent bindings and shelving and book ends. The teaching of literature in the schools continues to be largely a record of failure. It is probable that such encouragements to personal participation in the process of developing a taste for books will bring about a turn for the better.

headed, solid, well-built man who spoke with a burr and wiped his Socratic brow with one hand while he shook mine with the other, flashing his extraordinarily vivacious eyes at me, opened our conversation with a comment on the shortcomings of my book *Mother*, which, it appeared, he had read in a manuscript. When I explained that I had written the book in a hurry, Lenin nodded and said it was a good thing I had hurried; the book was necessary and many workers had taken part in the working class movement spontaneously without being conscious of why, and now they could read *Mother* and derive a great benefit from it. "The book is very timely." That was his only compliment but it was one which I regarded as very valuable."

LENIN was able to see artistic value in the works of writers hostile to his camp. He wrote to his sister from Paris that he had seen a play called *Barricades*, by Gouget, which he found "reactionary but interesting."

Foreign writers interested Lenin mainly as representatives of the intelligentsia and as reflecting their views. This was the source of his great interest in Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse. In his book *In the West*, Lunacharsky recalls how Lenin, speaking of Barbusse, said: "Yes—his is a great voice." Bernard Shaw was another writer whom Lenin regarded as "great voice." Arthur Ransome in his *Six Weeks in Russia* recalls that Lenin after a meeting in London at which he had heard Shaw speak, described Shaw as "an honest man fallen amongst Fabians. He is much more left than those who surround him." One of those present interjected: "Shaw is a clown." Lenin turned around sharply and answered: "In a bourgeois society he may be a clown to philistines, but in a revolution he would not be taken for a clown." Lenin's statements on literature enriched critical thought not only in Russia, but abroad. They did much to determine the development of Soviet literature in the direction of socialist realism.

During these years of war against the German invaders, Soviet writers have displayed the fullness of their loyalty to Lenin's literary ideals. Never before have writers shown such "activity," in Lenin's comprehension of that word. The Soviet writer has not laid aside his pen until such times as the guns cease to roar, but on the contrary has turned his pen into a weapon, remembering the

honored title Stalin gave the writer, "the engineer of the human soul."

The works of Alexei Tolstoy, Ilya Ehrenburg, Nikolai Tikhonov, Konstantin Simonov, Leonid Leonov, Alexander Fadeyev, Boris Gorbатов, Alexander Korneichuk, Vassily Grossman, Sergeyev Tsensky, Wanda Wasilewska and numbers of others show that during the war years Soviet literature has not only had its propaganda value but has also produced works of art. It is noteworthy that Ukrainian and Byelorussian writers such as Pavlo Tychina, Maxim Tytsky, Mikola Bazkhan, Leonid Pervomaisky, Jakub Kolas, Arkady Kuleshov and Maxim Tank, in the days when the Ukraine and Byelorussia were occupied by the enemy and they were far from their native lands, produced works which have enriched Soviet literature.

People's Preacher

A FAITH TO FREE THE PEOPLE, by Cedric Belfrage. Dryden Press. \$2.75.

A SHOCKING and exciting book has reappeared. This is its third format; one ventures it is not the last. In London it was first published in 1939 under the title, *Let My People Go*, and the British thought it fictitious. In 1940 it was brought out in New York as *South of God* and Americans, still oblivious to the threat of native fascism, passed it by. But the man whose biography it is, has been neither fictitious nor idle. As long as the Reverend Claude Williams has breath in his body, he will be producing copy. He has a bee in his bonnet.

Williams, boasting Cherokee blood in his veins, saw the light in western Tennessee. Uneducated, inwardly unsettled, he hit the Sawdust Trail as an itinerant preacher with the infallible Word of God in his hands. In turn, through books, he was awakened to the modern approach to the Bible, made aware of scientific knowledge about the nature of the universe, and introduced to Marxist economic theories. A less resilient and able mind could not have survived three such consecutive intellectual crises. Intimately familiar with the Scriptures, Williams found in his new discoveries one key after another to the penetration of their meaning. Gone forever was the Sawdust Trail as the prophets of Israel came to life as passionate voices of protest against the same kind of human exploitation Williams was seeing every day among the sharecroppers of

Tennessee. In the early Christian churches meeting in the homes of believers with a primitive sharing of goods, mutual protection, and the eradication of all racial and class distinctions, he saw a pattern for the solution of the tragedy of Tennessee, where the prejudices of poor whites were played against the fears of Negroes. He began to preach his new-found Scripture; it sounded mighty like hard-headed trade unionism; it aided in the birth of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. When they ran him out of Tennessee, he accepted a Presbyterian pastorate in Arkansas. He made it a people's church and the application of his preaching aided in the organizing of a local of the United Mine Workers. Then the depression struck. Arkansas was impoverished, its privileged people stricken with fear, its vigilantes on the prowl. When the Workers' Alliance undertook the cruel business of organizing under these conditions, Williams was there. They accused him of taking Moscow gold, destroyed his parish, beat him almost to a pulp with rubber hoses, and ran him out of the state. He moved with his wife and children to Detroit, where wise minds of the Presbyterian Church stood by him and the CIO helped out, realizing that he was groping after something of supreme importance. He was on the job when the race riots occurred. His People's Institute is hard at work. He is there now.

This is the bee in Williams' bonnet. In the heartland of America are thousands of semi-literate workers such as he himself was. Detroit is full of them. In their spare time they preach the Scriptures. They are of the same stuff from which have erupted a Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith and a Reverend Frank Norris and many another. They are the material for a native fascism garbed in scriptural dress. Claude Williams was one of them. Can they be awakened and transformed as he was, given an insight into the social meanings of the Gospel to which they are loyal, and educated in the organizational techniques for helping ordinary people to help themselves? If so, they will be one of the greatest forces for democracy in America. Claude Williams, having come from among them, worked with them, suffered for them, knows their language. He has set himself to be their teacher. Cedric Belfrage, now thrice his biographer, believes his is one of the most crucial undertakings in America. One cannot read



"The Senate," by Mervin Jules. On exhibition at ACA Gallery to February 10.

this ugly, brave, unfinished story without agreeing.

WILLIAM H. MELISH.

Freedom Bound

AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS, by Herbert Aptheker. Columbia University Press. \$4.50.

THE day is not too distant when an enlightened and grateful people will erect monuments to the memories of Gabriel, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner, forgotten martyrs of American freedom. Leaders of three great slave uprisings in the Southland, all three, like John Brown, were hanged on the gallows as criminals by free born white Americans who had still to learn that liberty is indivisible. Because their rebellions did not succeed, America had to pay an infinitely greater price for free-

dom with the catastrophe of the Civil War.

For enduring the crime of human slavery, our nation has had to make the added payment of spiritual degradation, the marks of which still linger in Jim Crowism and other evils. One evidence of this is in the neglect or distortion of the role of the Negro people by most of our historians. Though few have ventured to condone slavery after its abolition, most of them perpetuate the slaveowner's myth that the Negro is a sub-human possessing no capacity for civilization or aspiration for freedom. Even some progressive historians, who know better, evade the question and fail to integrate the heroic traditions of Negro struggle with the general democratic heritage of the American people.

In this respect Herbert Aptheker, now

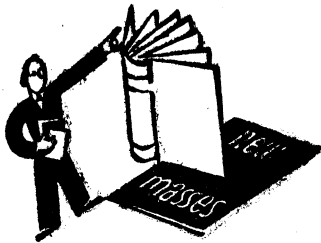
a captain in the United States Army, has made a notable contribution. For virtually the first time his *American Negro Slave Revolts* draws into historical focus the slave uprisings from the early eighteenth century through the Civil War. He writes of enslaved black Americans conspiring and fighting for their freedom and the restoration of our honor in the same spirit as if he were writing of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill. The book should go far to end the myth that the enslaved Negro people accepted their bondage without desperate and continuous effort to break their chains. Taking his evidence from hundreds of officially documented cases of armed rebellions and endless planning to regain freedom, Mr. Aptheker makes an irrefutable case and establishes the black man's place in the history of mankind's ageless striving for freedom. The ill-armed and, in most cases, illiterate slaves fought against overwhelming odds for two centuries. Each uprising and each conspiracy for freedom ended with horrible reprisals. But the passion for liberty that men have glorified and cherished above life itself through all the ages reasserted itself until freedom finally came through the united efforts of black and white in the bloody Civil War.

Mr. Aptheker uncovers the material and ideological causes which gave rise to the slave revolts. He notes that the peaks of the slave rebellions corresponded to the periods of accelerated struggle for liberty by the people of America and Europe. The decade of 1790-1800, marked by the French Revolution and the rise and triumph of Jeffersonian democracy, also witnessed widespread revolts among the slaves. The French Revolution especially exerted a profound influence, as did the victorious slave rebellions in the nearby French West Indies. Even though the slave code kept the Negro illiterate it could not seal his mind against the revolutionary philosophy of the time.

Mr. Aptheker's book helps to modify the interpretation of an entire historical period and restore the neglected and forgotten heritage of 14,000,000 Americans to the general body of our traditions, lifting the historic stature of the Negro people to the level of all Americans. The author's exposition of the corrupting influence of 200 years of slavery on Southern religion, science and political philosophy points up the anachronism of the slaveowners' ideology still extant in the minds of Southern bourbon politi-



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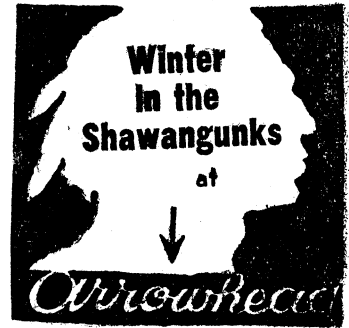
Giorgi Comes to U.S.A.

ANYTHING CAN HAPPEN, by George and Helen Papashvily. Harper. \$2.00.

THE stupidity of so many of our people who didn't take the trouble to be born in America has long irritated a considerable section of this country. Because, you see, when you have the good sense to be an American from birth, there's no need to go through the disturbing process of cultural and linguistic adjustment, no foreign attitudes and traits must be thrown off, and best of all, no one need ever suspect you of divided loyalties.

For people with such prejudices, this book should bring a reassuring glow of comfort. It might even make some of them change their minds. For no one can read it and not take Giorgi, parrot-nose, broken English and all, to his heart. Giorgi, "first man from Kobiankari ever comes in the USA," is as generous, friendly and lovable a soul as ever stepped off the boat into Battery Park. Or for that matter, as ever stepped off any boat, anywhere. In Georgia, he was a worker in decorative leathers, an ornament of crop handles, a sword-maker, and a sniper in the Czar's army. In America, he finds himself forced to assume duties a bit more utilitarian. The delightful tale of his adventures, told by his wife, Helen, is a pure joy to read. For there is nothing that Giorgi attempts—dishwashing, picnicking, repairing an automobile, trekking to California, running a sandwich business or raising foxes—that doesn't become a mixture of catastrophe and happiness, of insight into America and a revelation of his own personality.

"Day by day I found another new coin to add to my bag of gold that was America." And because Giorgi's sympathies are so deeply good and rich, because his instinct is so intense for what is right and just and friendly, his story has more than a mere anecdotal quality. It is filled with an awareness of the longings and hungers, the disappointments, loneliness, and eager comradeship that millions of immigrants must have known. "If you are not father or husband, son or brother," Giorgi asks,



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"neighbor or friend to somebody, who are you then to yourself?" It is easy to see why Giorgi is never without friends, —Anna Feodorovna and her amazing assortment of furniture, His Excellency, her father, poor Chancho, Illarion, the astronomer, and Dzea Vanno, who is "everybody's Uncle John" and who could prepare shashlik so artfully that princes and grand dukes were happy to pay twenty rubles for just one stick.

Helen Papashvily has set Giorgi's story down with grace, and wit, and wonderful affection and insight. It makes you want to know Giorgi himself. It makes you glad you've at least met him in a book.

ARKADY LEOKUM.

No Service to China

CHINA TAKES HER PLACE, by Carl Crow. Harper, \$2.75.

FOR many years the head of an advertising agency in Shanghai, Carl Crow makes it clear in many parts of his book that he looks upon the Chinese people—their customs and their political and economic problems—with amusement, benign tolerance, and that attitude of detached superiority so characteristic of many cynical ex-residents of the International Settlement.

In 1927, when the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people's army was marching northward to achieve the unification of China, the writer proved his regard for the Chinese people by joining a special International Settlement police force established to prevent anybody with such ideas from crossing into Shanghai's foreign quarter. Crow also admits, in a slightly embarrassed manner, that he previously had been chairman of the British-sponsored Constitutional Defense League's subcommittee on "propaganda to combat Communistic ideas." Some of the supporters of the league, he says, "... had a good deal of admiration for Mussolini" and "followed his activities with great interest."

Lest his embarrassment be taken for a now-reformed attitude, we have but to read Mr. Crow's proclamation that he is "... dead set against Communism and all its works." Without bothering to understand its broad nature and its goals, he refers to the Yen'an people's government as a Communist government. It must be assumed that he objects to the victories of the Eighth Route and Fourth Route Armies over the Japanese when he says that "... each advance of the Communist armies added

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strength to an insurgent government which might, when it had enough strength, overthrow the national government and set up a Communist regime." That these armies are now facing one-half the Japanese troops in China makes no political impression on Crow except that he does tell us that "the red and pink press all over the world played up the Communist feats of arms," and "gave the impression that the Communists were bearing the brunt of the battle against the Japanese." Newspaper reports about the real unity that exists between workers, farmers and progressive businessmen and landowners in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, occasion the caustic remark that they were "... dripping with so much praise, that I for one could never take them seriously." It may be added, as an aside, that the author never visited Yenan.

The writer's pious protestations of objectivity and sympathy towards the historic struggle of the Chinese people to fulfill Dr. Sun Yat-sen's program of national unity, political democracy and the people's right to livelihood are thus self-contradicted. His real sympathies are with the feudal landowning officer caste, whose greatest concern is to isolate the border regions and the example of democracy set there. Fortunately there are, today, many objective foreign reporters who have proved the urgency of the political, economic and military reforms that the Chinese must have before they can effectively strike back at the invader. Crow's warped concepts contribute nothing to the cause of Chinese unity; in fact they do harm to the fight of the United Nations against Japan.

JAMES C. CRONIN.

Toward a New Brazil

BRAZIL ON THE MARCH, by Morris Llewellyn Cooke. Whittlesey House. \$3.00.

IN 1942 Morris Llewellyn Cooke, one of the country's leading consulting engineers, went to Brazil as the head of an American technical mission. The immediate aim of the mission—which left at the height of the Nazi submarine menace in the Atlantic—was to help Brazil find ways to replace goods and materials ordinarily imported. Its second objective was to lay the groundwork for a long-range strengthening of Brazil's industrial economy.

The basic assumption of this report on his mission is that international trade develops in the best fashion "between

nations that are prosperous, not between rich nations and poor nations" and that "the government of the United States is now acting on the policy that, in our political and economic relations with all Latin America, mutuality of interest generously interpreted shall control." Mr. Cooke's discussion of Brazil's industrial potentials is enthusiastic and based on thorough-going investigation done on the spot. He assays the economic setting of the country, her manpower assets, metal and mineral resources, agricultural processing possibilities, air transport and hydro-electric potential and the help which American industrial "know-how" can be to Brazil.

Where Mr. Cooke falls down is in his brief and unhappy discussion of Brazilian politics. Some of his conclusions, such as his suggestion that in a free election the Brazilian people would return the present regime, are so questionable that they stand out sharply in this otherwise accurate and intelligent study. Similarly, his enthusiastic hope for the industrial development of Brazil leads him to the conclusion that the present regime, under the Vargas dictatorship, has produced a stability which "has its advantages in a nation just finding itself economically and industrially."

Mr. Cooke did not attempt to go deeply into Brazilian politics, and this is the book's most serious shortcoming. But it does not seriously detract from the great contribution he makes in presenting to the North American public a realistic appraisal of the industrialization potentials of a country larger in size than the United States. At this time such a study is particularly valuable for us in assessing the help we can give ourselves in the postwar period by supporting such industrialization in under-developed countries.

MARTIN T. BROWN.

Brief Review

THE UKRAINE: A SUBMERGED NATION, by William Henry Chamberlin. Macmillan. \$1.75.

MR. CHAMBERLIN proclaims his bias in his very subtitle, a slander on the Ukraine that achieved nationhood, for the first time in history, as a Soviet Republic. The book reflects the propaganda of the fascist Ukrainian ultranationalists even to its anti-Semitic overtones. Like them, though in more cautious formulations, Mr. Chamberlin places the hopes of a "free Ukraine" on the overthrow of the Soviet system.



GUERRILLA SONGS OF GREECE

By A. L. LLOYD

London (by mail).

FOR hundreds of years the Greeks have fought for their freedom, and most of the time it has been a guerrilla struggle against the forces of the great empires which have overwhelmed that small but stubborn land. Churchill was not the first to call the fighters "bandits." The Turkish pashas also gave them that name, and the guerrillas made it an epithet of pride. Many of their national heroes are these "klephts," or bandits, and the songs with which they have rallied and sustained their forces in centuries of guerrilla struggle to this very day are called klephtic songs.

Probably the most thrilling of all these songs, and those best loved by the mountain Greeks, are the ballads that make up the saga of Suli. They describe the fighting at the end of the eighteenth century between Ali Pasha and a heroic band of Suliot guerrillas who fought Ali's troops back and forth through the mountains for about ten years. Finally, Ali's son, Veli Pasha, took the fortress of Suli by treachery. About a thousand Suliots retreated to a mountain called Zalonghou. There they were cut off by the Turks. The Suliot men held the Turks off with superhuman bravery, while the women and children, working themselves up into a frenzy of defiance, began to sing an old Suliot ballad, and to dance their famous round dance, the Syrtos. They danced round and round with increasing pace and fervor, gradually getting nearer and nearer to the edge of the precipice. At the end of each measure, the woman or child last on the line of dancers would jump over the precipice with a cry of triumph and

the song would begin again. This dance of the Suliot women is nowadays called the Zalonghou dance.

Another popular song with dramatic associations is the ballad of Odysseus Androutsos, one of the most famous of all guerrilla leaders. The Russians had landed in the Morea in 1770, and in support of them there was a general insurrection. Odysseus took his men out of the mountains to help. The old people and the women were left behind to bewail his absence. As usual with the klephtic ballads, the singer is not at all concerned with the big political issues. All he knows is that he feels safe in the mountains and unsafe on the plains and he doesn't like Odysseus' idea at all. So he sings:

The sad mountains weep and have no comfort.

They mourn not for their loftiness nor their snows.

They mourn because the klephts have abandoned them.

They mourn because the klephts have gone to the plains.

What shall I say to you, mountain?

Little mountain, what shall I say?

The mangy plains rejoice in our lads.

They roast their meat on the plains.

They shoot at the target on the plains,

And the plains too they bedeck with Turkish heads.

Quite apart from the Saga of Suli, there is a famous cycle of Ali Pasha ballads celebrating the fight of the northern klephts against the bitterest, cruellest enemy of Greek independence, the Tosk Albanian pasha of Jannina, who

had so impressed Byron when he visited him at Tebeleni in 1808. This one describes a defeat of one of the very greatest of Greek partisan leaders, Euthymio Vlachavas, a man with far more coherent political ideas than was common with the klephts. (Melody below, left.)

*Ali Pasha ordered another charge,
And his men said their prayers and surged forward.*

*Five thousand Koniars, seven thousand
Tosk Albanians.*

*Into the bastions of the klephts and
pallikars.*

*The rocks were full of Albanians,
The streams were full of Koniars,
And a bitter cry was heard through the
land:*

They have taken Vlachavas's men.

*They have enslaved our friends and all
our race.*

Why are you so pale, Euthymio?

Why are you so grieved?

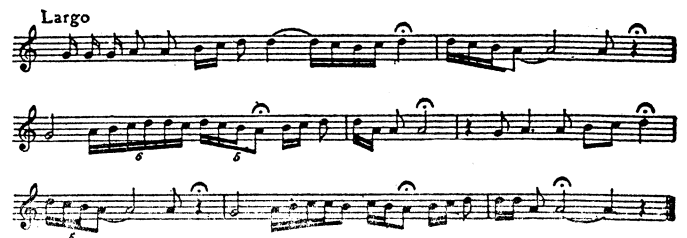
*I weep because the faithless Sturnaris
betrayed us.*

*And they brought me to Jannina, to Ali
Pasha,*

*And Ali will nail me to earth with a
stake*

And my eyes will be sent to my mother.

In fact, Ali didn't. He had Vlachavas tortured slowly and torn to pieces, and the pieces hung up about the countryside. As Byron and his friend Hobhouse rode into Jannina one bright afternoon in September 1808, they passed a tree on which was hanging by a string a man's arm and a bit of his side. At the time they didn't know it, but it was the arm of the sad hero Euthymio Vla-



Left: Melody of an Ali Pasha Ballad. Right: Melody of "Symbole Gerontes Klephton." (See page 30.)

chavas, the offspring, so the ballad singers had it, of a union between the mountains Olympus and Ossa.

Some of the klephtic ballads were made up by the klephts themselves. But most of them were made up by blind beggars. Ballad-singing was the conventional job of blind men in Greece, and perhaps beggars is not the right word, for ballad singing was looked on as work, and as essential work even, the character and imagination of the Greeks being what it was.

The ballad singers were always on the move, wandering from the Morea to Constantinople, from the Aegean to the Ionian, shouting in the public squares. Most often they were found in the smaller villages or the outlying suburbs, for they preferred to sing to a less cultivated public. Such a public would always be the most curious, the most greedy for impressions, politically the most inclined to listen to songs praising the national heroes and directed against the Turkish oppressor. The ballad singers generally accompanied themselves with a five-stringed mandolin, or a pear-shaped fiddle called the *lyra*. The tunes were wild, and melancholy for the most part, even the triumphant ones, with plenty of runs and flourishes, yet of a stark austerity. Usually they began with a long florid cry of "Oi!" rather like the "Ay!" that precedes most Andalusian folksongs. A characteristic old klephtic tune is the "Symboule Gerontes Klephtou." (See p. 29, right.)

These klephtic songs are very different from the rhymed songs made up in the big towns and in the Greek islands. These are songs with a strong Italian flavor, and indeed many of them are old Italian songs long since forgotten in their homeland. But there are town songs about the klephts too, and some of them remind you rather of the songs of the American Wild West, like the Billy the Kid ballads, or "The Death of Jesse James." Like them, these Greek songs are often about bad men coming into the towns, and risking arrest or being shot on the street corners. One of these is called "Gheorghaki of Be-sova."

*A little bird flew in the middle of the market,
Singing with a human voice.
She said: Gheorghaki, have you lost your wits?
Have you forgotten a price is on your head?*



This farmer from the district of Roumeli is a partisan leader of 1945. In a costume just like this his grandfather fought in the Greek War of Independence. The portrait was drawn by Dimitriou, a member of the "visual propaganda section" of the Greek Resistance Movement.

*Why have you left your native hills?
Why are you hanging around this town?
Why have you come to Grevena
With a rope around your waist?*

*Mehmet Aga called his men,
Called Suleiman Delvina.
And secretly they worked out a plan
To seize poor Gheorghaki.*

*Gheorghaki sat in the bazaar
With his rope around his waist.
They fell on him and they bound him fast,
And they cut him into bits.*

THE little bird convention is common in Greek guerrilla poetry. As often as not it is a black-plumed partridge that does the talking, like the one that told the Moslem Satu Bey to turn back from the mountain or he would be killed by the partisans. The song says: "Where did the bird hear Death on the watch for Satu Bey? She had been among the holy angels. She had seen them writing down his house as desolate, his wife a widow, his little boys hungry and begging from door to door."

This again is typical, in that there is no triumph over the death of the klepht's enemy; and there is no praise for the slayer. There is no comment at all; only the brutal comment of the facts. The whole thing is taken just as fate.

Not, mind you, that there was any doubt in the klepht's mind as to what was what, as this story will show: Ali Pasha's time was the greatest time of

the persecution of the klephts. He tried to wipe them out, and with them the last shreds of Greek independence. But he failed. He used all his ruses to beat them; once he even thought he might buy them over. He called a big conference at Karpenisi in Aetolia, of all the klephtic captains, to discuss terms for a lasting peace. Ali's generals turned up at the head of the troops. The klephtic captains turned up with their *pallikars*. Yusuf Arab, Ali's disgusting foster-brother, known as the Blood Drinker, was astounded at the enormous number of klephts, for he knew their losses had been heavy. A song describes the scene, and tells how Yusuf Arab called to the klephtic captain Athanasos, "For years without cease I have fought you. How is it that your band is more numerous than ever?" The klepht replied, "Look, Yusuf Arab. See these five lads at the head of my *pallikars*. Two of them are the brothers, two are the cousins, and the fifth is the friend of one of my lads whom you killed. All five have come to avenge his death. Torture a few more klephts and all Greece is with us!"

Those who try to turn the clock back in Greece will have heard that song. It will be ringing in their ears now like a heavy clout from the butt of a partisan gun.

Moses Soyer's Exhibition

MOSSES SOYER's one-man show at the MACA Gallery clearly places him in the tradition of the realists and the *genre* painters, which has given us such masters as George Caleb Bingham, Winslow Homer, John Sloan, George Bellows, and "Pop" Hart. It is a sound and vital tradition, thoroughly in the American grain. Moses Soyer brings to it unusual qualities of sympathy and understanding, clarity of statement, simplicity and intelligence. His art is self-explanatory. No special language is required to interpret it. As he himself says, he "paints the eyes in their right places."

Soyer's talent is people. His current exhibition shows that, like "Pop" Hart, he has to have people in his paintings and that he would never be satisfied with still life, bare landscapes or city streets, or any subject divorced from the gusty vitality of everyday life.

Each picture in Soyer's current exhibition shows that he is interested in humanity rather than in philosophic speculations and abstract forms. Each is in some way a synthesis of the artist's so-

cial experiences during these war years. He paints the war as he has seen it, in terms of the people around him. One canvas depicts a sailor kissing his sweetheart goodbye. Another, called "June 6, 1944," shows a mother praying amid the trees and hills of New England for the safety of her son landing on the shores of Normandy. For the first time Soyer has included several landscapes in his show, but they too are alive with people, who bathe and flirt and stroll at the beach and on the streets. The colors are bright and vibrant. Finally there are the canvases which have become typical of the artist: his dancer subjects, his wife and son, and his friends—David Burliuk, Joseph Stella, Abraham Walkowitz. An expressive portrait of Stella is one of the outstanding pictures.

COINCIDENT with the exhibition, Bernard Smith has written an excellently lucid biographical and critical study of the artist. (*Moses Soyer*, with forty-four reproductions. Published by ACA Gallery. \$1.50.) He describes Soyer's childhood in Russia, and his arrival in the United States, his art training under Henri and Bellows at the National Academy of Design and the Educational Alliance, where he also taught; his trip to Paris where he learned to appreciate American art, and his return to his home with the realization that the source of his inspiration lay within the circle of his own experiences.

Smith has produced a model art monograph. There is need for this kind of treatment of living American artists. He expresses one important aspect of Soyer's significance when he writes:

"Artists with social vision and a feeling for esthetic problems are not, in our day, excessively common. Hence one watches Soyer's development, in his present phase, with acute interest. . . . The body of completed work represents a genuine American artist. I emphasize 'American' because somehow we have been deluded into thinking that only works from Missouri or Iowa, only rural subjects, are native—as though the city were not American and as though the inbred Nordic farmer were any more American than the melting pot. There was a time, before the resurgence of provincialism and local arrogance, when the melting pot of the great city was the symbol and boast of this country. It was then, and will again be, the uniquely American characteristic. Moses Soyer represents it proudly."

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